The Forum

MAY, 1896.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE country is suffering to-day from two sequelæ of the civil war. One is the currency question, and the other the tariff question. Of neither of them, as national questions of momentous interest, had anybody the smallest idea before the war. What the political prophets thought would follow it, were great disorder in the South and great difficulty in persuading the army to go back to civil life and peaceful industry, and, possibly, in persuading the people to pay the national debt. None of these perplexities has come upon us. The troubles which have come upon us are a strong desire to debase the currency and to levy heavy taxation for protective purposes. These two problems to-day constitute almost the sum total of our politics, and they present themselves in an extremely unmanageable form.

The plan of making money go farther, by debasing or depreciating it, is a very old one. It is not quite as old as metallic money, but it is as old as legal tender. There was no use in debasing the medium of exchange so long as nobody was obliged to take it in return for his goods, or in payment of what was due to him. But so soon as the issue of money became a governmental function, the practice of adulteration, or clipping, or in some manner altering it, so as to retain its purchasing or liquidating power, while lowering its real value, became very general. The Greeks resorted to it; so did the Romans. So have nearly all modern nations. But until our time it has always been a device for the easy payment of public debts. It was the favorite resort of embarrassed governments before the days of public

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loans. It was the government that was to get the benefit of it, not private individuals. That it was a fraudulent device, and that it was a thing, if possible, to be concealed, nobody ever denied. History may be searched in vain for any assertion of its morality. To see that it must always have been looked upon as dishonest, one has only to ask one's self why men invented money, and why it has continued in use. They invented it, and have clung to it, simply as a measure of value; that is, a small portable memorandum of the worth of something they have parted with, which shall procure them, on presentation, something as valuable as that thing. This is the explanation of the practice of hoarding, or hiding gold and silver coins, which has prevailed in all ages. People have buried them in the ground, or concealed them in holes and corners, in the belief and expectation that no matter how long they might be kept out of sight and out of use, their purchasing power would remain unchanged. Sovereigns traded on this popular belief in the steadiness of their value, by lowering this value secretly. But, as I have said, it was only sovereigns who resorted to this mode of raising the wind, and it was so easy that down to the seventeenth century nearly all sovereigns resorted to it. They were the official keepers of the national measure, and they privately shortened it for their own benefit. They enlarged the power of regulating the currency into the power of "scaling" their own debts.

During our civil war, we followed their example. We issued debased currency,—that is, dollars that were of inferior value to real dollars,—and, in our distress, not only paid the public debts with them, but authorized all debtors to do the same thing to their creditors. We excused this on the same ground on which we excused our killing people or destroying property at the South, namely, that it was necessary to save the life of the nation. Congress had the right of every government to preserve its own existence by any means necessary for the purpose. The country accepted this view of the matter. Our Government, we said, has issued debased money as a matter of necessity. There has been no concealment about it, and it will all be made right in the end. Its dollars are bad dollars. The reason it issued them was the same as those for which it has destroyed thousands of lives and vast amounts of property.

When the war was over, however, a very curious thing happened. Some people came forward and said: "We see these dollars of yours are really not money, in the strict sense of the term, but promises to pay money. You say you issued them during the war on the plea of

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necessity. The war has now been over for some years, and the necessity has disappeared. Is it not time that you paid them, or at all events ceased to compel people to take them in payment of their debts?" The answer to these questions came from the Supreme Court in what were known as the Legal-Tender Cases.[1] The court said that the power to regulate the currency, which every government must have, was really a power to make any kind of money it pleased; that it had power not only to stamp and weigh the metal or metals which mankind has in all ages agreed to regard as the only true money, the only safe measure of value, but to make money out of any metal or other material, to issue it instead of the money actually current, to raise or lower its value in the market, and to give it any name it thought proper,—to call, for instance, a piece of paper ten inches by four "One dollar," or to declare a piece of copper or platinum to be of the same value as a circular piece of gold weighing $25\frac{8}{100}$ grains, and usable for the same purposes;—that therefore its paper promises to pay money were, to all intents and purposes, money. All the discussion which has raged among lawyers over this decision has turned on the constitutionality of it, not on the justice or honesty of it. The court judged of the power of Congress in this matter of currency by analogy. It said that Congress must have the power over the currency as an "incident of sovereignty," which all the old governments have had, and the definition of sovereignty was obtained by observing the practice of sovereigns. Turning to history, it found that all the older governments had depreciated the currency for their own benefit, but I do not believe it found one champion of the right to do it, or that any one of these governments ever publicly claimed such a right for itself. So that we have clothed our Government with a power which no other government has ever possessed in the forum of morals. The right to punish people for their religious opinions might in fact be recognized, with more force, as an "incident of sovereignty" on the same grounds. "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*" was an accepted maxim of European public law for a thousand years.

Out of this decision has grown our currency question, as we see it to-day. So soon as the people of the United States heard from the mouths of their judges that their Government had the power not only to regulate money,—that is to weigh, stamp, and give it a name,—but to choose the material for it, and fix its value, a large party

[1] The effect of these decisions will be found summed up in Chap. lvii of Hare's "American Constitutional Law."

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sprang up, commanding a majority in Congress, and demanded that the Government should go to work to make money out of paper, and pay its debts with it. This party was beaten, after a hard struggle, by the aid of various arguments of which the foremost was, that paper having no intrinsic value Congress might increase it to any extent it pleased, and it would thus soon become worthless,—witness the Continental paper, the French assignats, and the Confederate money. The greenbackers then abandoned the field, or were in the fair way of abandoning it, when silver began to fall heavily. It at once seemed to them that here was something cheap, comparatively easy to get hold of, and therefore peculiarly suited to the needs of the poor, which was already in use as currency in many countries and would be nearly as good as greenbacks as a means of restoring prosperity. It could not be said of it, as had been said of the greenback, that it had no intrinsic value. It had value, apart from its use as money. It was a metal. Moreover Congress could not increase the quantity of it at pleasure, as it could increase the quantity of greenbacks. Its amount was fixed by nature.

There then grew up about silver a remarkable amount of legendary matter. The ancient idea that money was a measure of value seemed to fade away. To the demand of those who insisted that gold should be retained in circulation, and that silver should, as money, bear some fixed ratio to it, the answer was made that we could by legislation make the ratio anything we pleased,—15 to 1, or 16 to 1, or 20 to 1. Some preferred 15 to 1 because this was the ratio fixed by the Almighty when placing the two metals in the ground. Others did not think any ratio was necessary because gold ought not to be retained in circulation in a country of poor or plain people. Silver ought to do all the work of money. If it was too heavy, as some said, for daily use, let it be stored and have paper issued against it. Paper money, by the by, could be issued "against" anything. It did not need to be exchangeable for a thing provided it were "based" on it, that is, if the issuer of the paper owned something of value which he had in his mind when he issued it. Therefore, silver did not need to be mined or coined in order to "base" paper on it. We need only, one member of Congress said, have our engineers calculate how much silver there was in a mountain, and we could then "base" paper on it to that amount. Silver, too, was gradually personified into something almost human. It was entitled to "a place of honor." It was the friend of the poor, and stayed with people in times of misfortune when gold fled to the

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rich, or to foreign countries. You could be ungrateful, or indifferent, to silver as to a human friend. Very recently, a member of Congress reproached a newspaper in this city with "never having said a kind word of silver." Silver came to have a "cause" of its own, to be degraded or betrayed. It had triumphs to achieve and defeats to sustain. You could insult silver, or slight it, or slander it, or humiliate it, or snub it. I do not believe that it would be easy to find in the discussions of the past ten years the smallest recognition, on the silver side, that money is, or ought to be, a measure of value simply. It has been treated throughout as a commodity which it was the duty of the Government to make as plentiful as possible, and put within easy reach of as large a number of people as possible. On this view of the duty of the Government, what we call the silver party, which is now in the field, has been founded.

Now the founding, in a country of universal suffrage, of a party which looks on money not as a measure of value but as a commodity, is a new thing and a serious one. The aberrations of the human mind on the subject of currency have, as I have already said, been many since the dawn of history, but I do not recall any aberration in which the pretence, at least, of regarding money as a standard by which to regulate the exchange of commodities, was not kept up. This pretence often covered fraudulent alterations of the standard, but it was never laid aside, and the alterations were concealed. The adulterators and debasers never said, "Never mind about the purchasing power of this; the more there is of it the better for you." They always said, "This is just the same as what you have got already, and will purchase you just the same amount of anything you desire." Moreover, like most other functions of government in times past, the regulation of the currency was always left in the hands of a few experts, that is, of men who made the currency a matter of scientific observation, and who sought, according to their lights, to make money a measure, as well as a medium, of exchange. For the currency question is not altogether, as many suppose, a question of material or of quantity. It is essentially or mainly a question of psychology. What they study, who study it aright, is the way the human mind plays around exchange. The merits or demerits of gold or silver or paper as money are to be found not in the things themselves, but in the way in which the people who use them look at them. Take Gresham's Law for instance. It says that, when there are two kinds of currency,—one inferior in value to the other, but both legal tender,—the more valuable one will leave

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the country. Well, the more valuable one does not walk off of its own accord; it is sent away by men who see profit in exporting it. The objection to silver—the great overwhelming one—is that the men who make most use of coin prefer gold. And what all statesmen or economists who make a specialty of currency try to get at through tables of prices, and movements of bullion, is how people feel about the different kind of medium in which they make their purchases and pay their debts.

The transfer to the newspaper, the caucus, the convention, and the popular vote, of this extremely delicate task of deciding what kind of money in any given country makes the best measure of value, while furnishing the most convenient medium of exchange, is, as I have said, something new. The problem before the country next autumn, will be almost as much how to take the measure of value out of politics, as how to get at the right measure just now. For there will be little use in establishing the gold standard or any other standard, unless politicians can be induced to let it alone, and leave it in the hands of men who will change it only to secure greater steadiness, and not to help debtors or to stimulate a particular branch of industry. Until it is well established that the currency will not come up as a question to be settled by the popular vote at every Presidential election, there cannot be any industrial or commercial peace or tranquillity. The questions of ratio or no ratio, of one metal or another, of government paper or bank paper, of elasticity or fixity,—have all to be considered with reference to the effect on the standard of value, and this class of problem is no more capable of being settled at the polls than are parallels of latitude or of longitude. The debating of it on the stump, except to prevent the commission of some great folly, or to procure their transfer to experts, is a patent absurdity. The one thing which the popular vote can safely do for the currency, is to direct its committal to a few men who are familiar with it both from the theoretical and the practical side. This, too, is the main object of the championship of the gold standard which we now witness. What the "gold bugs" really demand is not the gold standard, so much as assimulation in currency matters to the other great commercial nations, and the absolute abandonment of the currency question as a political issue. That we shall secure these things at one election is not likely, but the election of a President on a sound-money platform will be the first step toward it, and a great one.

The currency problem is made all the more complicated by the

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attitude of the West toward the East. That there is a line dividing the two regions has been for a long time vaguely perceived, but it was never so clearly defined as by the war feeling and by the silver question. Speaking generally, the bulk of whatever there was of pugnacity toward England after Mr. Cleveland's Message was to be found west of the Alleghanies; and, speaking generally, also, it may be said that the principal support of the silver standard is to be found west of the Alleghanies. It is accompanied in both cases by a dislike or distrust of the East, which is partly social and partly financial, and covers also European countries, but principally England. The social dislike or distrust would need an article to itself. The financial is, in the main, that of a borrowing for a creditor community, and that of a new agricultural community for one which is devoted mainly to the business of selling commodities and exchanging money. It is composed, in part, of the old dislike of the farmer for the financier, and in part that of the poor debtor for the rich creditor. Behind it all lies great ignorance about foreigners and foreign relations, and of the other forms of society than those by which western men are surrounded, combined with an immense sense of power. It is difficult to make a western man understand that a country of 70,000,000 of inhabitants cannot do anything that it has a fancy to do, including the circulation of silver at a fixed ratio. It is also difficult to persuade him that a well-dressed man with superfine manners does not cherish evil designs of some sort. He does not see how the great fortunes he hears of in the East have been honestly acquired, and he, therefore, would hear with equanimity of the bombardment of eastern cities. He brooks very ill the unconscious assumption of superiority which the long cultivation of the social art brings with it in older countries, and thinks it the main business of the American abroad to resent this by threats and defiance.

Among the mass of western people, a knowledge of the conditions of foreign exchange is scanty. The notion that a nation with $1,600,000,000 of foreign commerce can be a law unto itself in commercial matters, and that it is easy to create financial conditions which will cut us off from the rest of the world, is still rife in that part of the country. In fact, it would not be too much to say that, in spite of a high degree of culture at certain points, the West is suffering all the observed consequences of too great isolation,—that is, want of more contact with other social conditions and other forms of civilization. All genuine and steady progress thus far has come from intercourse with

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foreigners and familiarity with their point of view, and readiness to adopt whatever is best and most suitable in their ideas, manners, or customs. This has been true from the earliest times, is, in fact, the most familiar phenomenon of advancing civilization. The greatest danger the Valley of the Mississippi runs to-day is the danger of living in its own ideas,—the belief that Providence still creates peculiar peoples.

Escape from the silver idea is not likely to be easy. The protective idea is incorporated with it. The belief that silver is a commodity, not simply a measure of value, has taken possession of the western mind. The notion that it is, therefore, as much entitled to protection as any other commodity, by any means within reach of the Government, is not easily dislodged, so long as the protective theory prevails at the East. It is not easy for an eastern protectionist to face the arguments by which a western man refuses to help the East to support its industries by heavy duties so long as the West, and more especially the mining States, have no share in the blessings derived from the national policy. The western man is a protectionist, too, but he wishes to push the plan farther, and he has concocted a theory of currency to go along with it. A self-supporting Europe-defying country, producing everything it wants for its own use, including its own money, is his idea of a state. The eastern man goes only half way. He wishes to be independent of Europe industrially, but to keep up his connection with it pecuniarily, which is not thorough and complete "Americanism."

That these ideas will be overcome, except by actual experiment, seems unlikely. If the currency should by the next election fall into the hands of a Government dominated by the ideas of the silverites, we must be prepared for deliverance through a panic of very great magnitude. This is the way, as a general rule, the financial heresies of a democracy are dissipated. Books are not read, or theorists much listened to. The thing has to be tried. Nevertheless discussion has produced a great deal of effect in the great cities where commercial considerations tell, and the chances are that, if the sound-money men shall get hold of the Government in 1897, the cult of silver will gradually retreat, like paganism in the early ages, to remote country districts, and linger rather as a superstition than as a financial theory. Several things are working against it, and the most powerful is the great increase in the production of gold; but its greatest support, that which will probably last longest, is patriotic belief in the power of the nation to do what it pleases.

Much the same things may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the tariff

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question. I am quite aware that there is a great deal to be said for a tariff that shall fairly protect native industries from foreign competition. The theory of protection has been defended by many able men, and is held by many honest ones. But the protective tariff, as enacted by legislation either in this or in any other democratic country, is never the protective tariff which publicists or economists work out in their libraries. The latter takes a general view of the whole field of industry, and endeavors to impose duties with such impartiality that no one industry shall profit at the expense of another, or interfere with another's freedom of action. Moreover it insists above all things on permanence or, at all events, on sufficient permanence to enable the legislator to see the result of his own experiments, as regards the amount and the incidence of his duties. This is the sort of tariff protectionists write books about, and lecture about and laud on the stump.

The actual tariff of legislation is a totally different affair. It is made up not so much on a general view of the needs of all industries, as on the account each industry gives of the amount of duty it needs to make it profitable. It favors, too, those which are able to make the largest contributions to electioneering expenses of the party which enacts it, without regard to the general effect. Permanence is the last thing it thinks of. Our tariff has undergone twenty-five changes since the war, all in the direction of higher duties. All but one of these changes were made on the demand of manufacturers, who claimed more assistance, and got it without any enquiry into the reason why they needed it, or why they had failed to make sufficient profits under the existing duties. So that the tariff of the scientific protectionists is never seen and probably never will be seen in practice, nor is it at all likely that any tariff can ever have much stability,—and this for reasons which apply to all, or nearly all, governmental interferences with trade and industry.

No such interference can in modern society ever be isolated or confined to one object or class of objects. Its effects are always vastly more far-reaching than the promoter ever imagines. One of the most marked of these is to stimulate competition at home by bringing more capital into every protected industry,—thus diminishing the advantages of protection to each beneficiary, while tempting people to start new industries without a special fitness for them, in reliance on protection. So that, like all stimulants, its influence diminishes as time goes on, and the cry for more duties or new duties is constant. There have been, as I have said, twenty-five changes in the tariff since 1861, and

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only one of them has been due to the so-called free-traders. All the others were made on the demand of dissatisfied protectionists. And yet, as any business man will tell you, nothing is more necessary to prosperous industry than stability in the conditions under which it is carried on. That is, business can flourish under either a high or low tariff, if the business man can make his calculations with certainty. But of any steady tariff there is no more promise, apparently, to-day than there was ten years ago. If the Republicans elect the President next fall and have a majority in both Houses, they will probably pass something like the old McKinley tariff bill, and they will generally suppose that this will bring in an era of prosperity; but it will not do so any more than the old McKinley tariff which led to the terrible defeat of 1890. It will be full of excesses and abuses which will bring about another reaction, and there will then be in a few years another kind of tariff with a similar result. Prosperity will wait for a settlement of the currency question.

Once a community adopts the plan of getting rich by legislation it bids good-by to steadiness. No matter what acts are passed, the mass of the population remains poor or fails in business, and then lays the blame on the legislation or on the legislators, and tries new men or new measures. It has always been so, and will always be so. The government of the day is always responsible for both the weather and the crops, and this alone will make McKinley's election a national misfortune. It is not that he will make a protective tariff that we fear, but that he will make another tariff which people will not put up with very long.

Another objection to the protective system, perhaps in the long run the most serious of all, is its effect on public life. No contemporary observer can fail to be struck with the disappearance from Congress and the State Legislatures of men prominent for eloquence, character, or the weight of their opinions. It is no exaggeration to say that there is hardly one left in the political world who is listened to for doctrine or instruction on any great public question. There are in Congress no orators, no financiers or economists, no scholars whom people like to hear from before making up their minds,—no Clays, no Websters, no Calhouns, no Wrights, no Marcys, no Everetts, no Sewards, no Lincolns, no Fessendens, no Trumbulls, no Sumners, no "illustrations," as the French call them, in any field. The talent of the country in fact seems to have taken refuge in the great business corporations, and in the colleges, just as in the Middle Ages it took

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refuge in the monasteries. In the late attempts of Congress to get up a war, there seemed to be no one in either House capable of drafting a resolution which would present its designs in respectable shape. We cannot recall any case in modern times in which a government seemed so completely abandoned by the adepts and experts.

Now why is this to be ascribed to the tariff? Well, in this way: Business—the making of money by the production or sale of commodities—is the greatest interest of life to the bulk of the American community. As soon as government is presented to men as an instrument for the addition to their income of a sum in dollars and cents which they can enter in their ledgers every year, as they can profits from a speculation, they cease to think of it as an instrument for the promotion of the general welfare. Their mind gets fixed on it wholly as a means of increasing their own revenues. When a man has once entered in his accounts a good sum as the result of a piece of legislation procured by his own exertions, he is never again the same man as a citizen. He takes an entirely different view of the state, of the objects of government, of the nature of patriotism, and of the functions of the legislator. Politics becomes business to him. The duty of getting high-tariff men into Congress who will put the right duty on his commodity becomes a duty which he owes to his partners, to his creditors, to his family, and to the community. The expediency of paying any sum necessary to elect such men becomes as plain as the expediency of paying the expenses of his drummers. Opponents of his tariff become to him assailants of property and order. A speech against the tariff is an instigation to communists to wreck his mill or his workshop. Free-trade books become quasi-incendiary publications. Free-trade professors and editors are corrupters of youth. All the mental influences which create orthodoxy on any subject, work for the conversion of defence against foreign industrial competition into the highest duty of the citizen.

Once fill the country with this idea, as with a religion, and the effect on politics soon becomes manifest. Men who believe in freedom of thought and expression, and who think that government has other and higher duties than seeing that the business of the private citizen is profitable, are generally the fittest men for public life. Such men are rarely good tariff men, and they are, therefore, sedulously discarded by caucuses and conventions. Bosses are hostile to them because money cannot readily be obtained to promote their election, and because they are too independent to be easily disciplined. When this process has

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lasted a number of years, the thoughts of the *élite* of the nation naturally turn away from politics to fields in which a man may speak the thing he wills, and be the master of his own career.

With more space at my disposal illustrations of this would be easy. There is one before us to-day, however, which cannot be passed over. That this tendency to eliminate men of ability and independence of thought from public life should end in making Major McKinley the Republican candidate for the Presidency, is what is now called "the logic of the situation." If this sifting process continued very long, it was inevitable that it would at last discard from the list of qualifications for the Chief Magistracy everything but devotion to a high tariff, and put in nomination for it a man who had nothing else to recommend him. All the Republican candidates since the foundation of the party—Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Blaine, Harrison—have had some solid claim for the place, apart from the tariff. Lincoln was a considerable orator and valiant opponent of slavery when he was nominated. Grant was a great soldier. Hayes was a good soldier, a sound financier, and a highly respectable local administrator. Garfield was a scholar, an orator, and a publicist of distinction. Harrison was a distinguished soldier, and had considerable eminence at the bar of his own State. Blaine was admired for a good many things which had no connection with protection for native industry. But, as the tariff becomes more prominent in the party councils, the standard of talent or achievement necessary for the place steadily declines. There was a strong note of warning on this subject in General Harrison's remark that a "cheap coat made a cheap man," and in the preposterous doctrine which many of the Republican leaders began in that canvass to preach on the stump, that dearness of commodities was a good thing for the poor. The intellectual descent made by the party at that time cleared the way for a far poorer sort of candidate than any it had ever had, nay, worse than any party had ever had since the foundation of the Government, for we are ready to allow any one who has looked into the published volume of Major McKinley's speeches, or has examined his record as Governor of Ohio, to compare him with any President, or Presidential candidate, in our history. Any such examination will show that the party has, in its search for a suitable standard-bearer, reached a region of extraordinary intellectual poverty and moral weakness, but still a region toward which it has for many years been steadily marching.

Should Mr. McKinley be elected, he will, without a single qualifi-

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cation except love of a high tariff, be called upon to preside over a financial situation of extraordinary perplexity. Not only has he voted in Congress for free coinage and the silver purchase act of 1890, but one needs only a cursory examination of his volume of speeches to see that he has no understanding either of currency or foreign exchange. His assertion on the stump in 1892 that the McKinley bill had brought $200,000,000 of gold into the country led me to have enquiries made of him, how he knew this, by what channels the gold had arrived, as there was no trace of it in the custom-house returns. His only answer was that it had come in increased wages to American workmen. The Ohio platform is another evidence of the fog in which he dwells on all matters relating to the currency. The financial situation is simply this: Partly under the influence of the silver craze, partly under the influence of a renewal of the greenback craze,—which makes greenbacks a sacred relic of the war, to be preserved in spite of their defects as money,—we have undertaken to keep about $900,000,000 of mixed silver and government paper at par with gold. This is the most tremendous task any civilized government has ever imposed upon itself. The Bank of England only agrees to keep $80,000,000 of paper at par. The Bank of France has only $700,000,000 to look after, at the most, for this is all the paper it is allowed to issue, and keeps gold for nearly half of this. The German Bank has only to keep its paper at par in securities, bank notes, discounted bills, and legal-tender notes of the government. But we undertake to see that everybody who wants it shall get gold for more than $400,000,000 of silver, which bring only 58 per cent of intrinsic value in the market, and for about $500,000,000 of paper which has no intrinsic value whatever. In order to do this, we borrow gold whenever our stock of it runs short, and every successful loan is greeted as a great financial triumph.

Upon this borrowed stock of gold, too, Gresham's Law plays incessantly. I have recalled the meaning of this law in an earlier part of this article. It means for us that any one who finds it necessary to settle a balance with a foreign creditor, and who is unable to settle it with silver or paper, may settle it with gold drawn from the Treasury. So that the Government stock of gold is sure to undergo incessant diminution from these drafts. Now the protectionist, or I may say McKinley, remedy for this is to procure larger revenue by putting higher duties on foreign imports. Granting that this would increase the revenue, the only difference would be that we could purchase our reserve of gold with our own money, instead of borrowing it. But it would

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not diminish the drafts on this reserve. These drafts arise out of the fact that with a dollar in silver worth only 58 cents, I can go to the Treasury and get a dollar worth 100 cents. This demand will not cease until silver becomes worth 100 cents on the dollar, or the race of money-changers dies out, or until the volume of our currency is so reduced that we shall need gold for other uses than bolstering up our silver and greenbacks. If all this be true, it is easy to see that the declarations in favor of the gold standard in the Republican platforms will profit us little, unless some means are devised to stop the drain of our gold caused by our periodical announcements that we mean to keep our silver and paper at par with gold, or perish in the attempt. So long as this continues, it matters not whether we buy the gold for our reserves, or borrow it, we shall be constantly on the edge of a silver basis and consequently of a frightful panic.

The work of currency reform, therefore, consists in following the example of the other great nations of the earth and leaving silver to do the best it can as token-money or small change,—that is, limiting its legal-tender quality,—and in reducing the volume of the greenbacks, or wholly redeeming them, and discharging the Government from the duty of keeping anything at par, except its own credit. But this involves the substitution, for the greenbacks and silver, of some sort of banking system whose paper shall be secure and whose circulation shall contract and expand with the wants of trade. No Legislature since 1815 has had a more serious task before it than this, and we doubt if any Legislature has ever had. It will need a Congress either of remarkable intelligence or of remarkable docility. It will need a first-rate financier to direct the operation, one who is intimately acquainted with currency problems both as affected by home trade and by foreign exchange, such a man, in truth, as Alexander Hamilton or Albert Gallatin. Is Major McKinley such a man? I am strongly tempted to make this question a laughing matter, by means of extracts from his speeches, but I forbear.

E. L. Godkin.

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A SALUTARY MANDATE TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

As the moment for the assembling of the National Conventions approaches,—a moment pregnant with such great consequences to the nation,—the whisperings begin to be heard which touch the declarations of policy in the party platforms and the candidates to whose hands their execution can be confided. Which of these whisperings shall become louder, which shall become fainter and possibly even die away before the final hour for the registering of decisions, rests mainly with the people. It is in their power to make themselves heard if they have clear and positive wishes, for the people's representatives will not fail to reflect the pronounced desires of their constituents. If the people are silent, chance alone will determine what the party leaders will believe to be the wishes of their constituents. And the result of such a situation is almost invariably an equivocal and uncertain declaration, which may mean one thing to one person, and something altogether different, if not diametrically opposite, to another.

There are certainly a great many people in the country to-day who believe that a large majority of the voters have been educated to a point where they recognize that the commercial and industrial prosperity of the country rests upon a sound monetary system, and who know in what consists a sound monetary system. All movements need initiation by a few, and it may therefore be said that the responsibility for the consequences of inaction at this time will lie with those who happily have the light, and who fail to call forth response from the multitudes whose right words are ready, but are kept suspended on their lips because of the absence of the appeal. The people have been interrogated as to whether they believed that the United States possessed a secret known to no other nation, that is, the ability to adopt bimetallism at the ratio of 16 to 1. They have been asked whether they believed that the United States could open its mints to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 and preserve the bimetallic standard. They have given answer with the most emphatic No. They have declared that free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 will

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mean silver monometallism, and that the existing standard of values—the gold dollar—should not be overthrown and replaced by a dollar of about only half its value. Recent votes in the House of Representatives placed this construction of the public sentiment on this question beyond all reasonable doubt, and it may be safely affirmed that the people have acquired a thorough comprehension of this subject, and that there will be no backsliding.

Clearly recognizing the will of the people, the Administration has resorted to all the means in its power to avert the consequences of previous errors in the nation's financial legislation. It has been confronted with the legal-tender issue and with the Treasury-note issue,—aggregating little short of $500,000,000,—which issues it has been expected to be able to redeem in gold dollars whenever called upon; and in this connection, as has been often explained, it has had to contend with the peculiar condition affecting the legal-tender note, namely, that, though redeemed, it could not be cancelled, but had to be paid out to be redeemed again and again. The number of sales of United States bonds which have had to be made is a matter of almost too recent history to need mention. Suffice it to say that within two years these bond sales have aggregated, approximately, $262,000,000, producing, with the premium, almost $290,000,000. In this way has the Administration, from time to time, provided itself temporarily with sufficient gold to present to the public mind a reserve apparently ample to meet all demands on the Treasury for the redemption of United States legal-tender notes or Treasury notes. For the moment the public mind is serene, for it sees balances in the Treasury aggregating about $280,000,000, including about $125,000,000 in gold coin. This means that the United States has, against its legal-tender and Treasury-note obligations,—aggregating about $490,000,000,—a reserve in gold and in its own note obligations of little short of 60 per cent.

If such a condition of the Treasury could be preserved beyond peradventure, the evil attending the existence of the United States legal-tender and Treasury notes would not necessarily be a very perceptible cloud on the horizon. The country might gradually absorb and outlive the remaining poison in its monetary system, but unhappily it is not certain that the Treasury can be kept beyond question in its present condition. We have not the slightest guarantee that a reserve held by the Treasury to-day may not, under existing laws, be paid out under Congressional appropriations to-morrow. Herein lies the "endless chain" to which reference is now so frequently made. In view of

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this situation, does it not seem that the energies of the people should be devoted to the destruction of this "endless chain," whose operation hangs over the business community like the sword of Damocles? Does its destruction present insurmountable or even considerable difficulties? There cannot be any hesitation in saying No. The fear has existed that a retirement and cancellation of legal tenders, which are the sure way of destroying the "endless chain," would mean an injurious contraction of the circulating medium of the country; but we have seen, through the recent sale of $100,000,000 4 per cent bonds, the withdrawal of substantially the whole amount of the proceeds from circulation and its retention in the Treasury,—yet it has not been accompanied by any stringency in the money markets, notwithstanding the fact that only a few millions of money were imported from abroad in connection with this negotiation. The fear in the minds of some people on this score, when the circular of the Secretary of the Treasury was issued, was shown to be entirely groundless. It may therefore be claimed to be clearly demonstrated that at this moment the country could well afford to lose upward of a hundred millions of dollars from circulation. And this loss could be welcomed if effected by the permanent contraction—through cancellation—of a medium so pernicious as that of the United States legal tender.

It may be asserted, from the experience of the last thirty-three years, that even if the issue of the United States legal-tender notes was a measure warranted by the Constitution, it has been a source of endless harm,—wasteful, and accompanied by an enormous and unnecessary cost of wealth to the people of the country. But despite the decision of the Supreme Court, which justified the issue of the United States legal-tender notes on the ground of their being a necessity induced by our civil war, there certainly must be a vast number of able students of the Constitution who will never be willing to accept that decision, and who will claim that even the exigencies of war could not justify such a departure from the safe principles underlying the Constitution. We can return to the purity of the Constitution and to safety for the nation by adopting a law in the simplest terms,—a law free from complication with questions affecting bank-note issues or any other questions touching new descriptions of money. We can enact immediate cancellation of a given amount of legal tenders, and can declare it to be the policy of the United States to gradually extinguish the whole issue.

A better period could hardly be chosen for an entrance upon this

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right and safe path. If we look at the reports of the production of gold and silver in the world we find a continuous increase in quantity during late years, until with the last reports we see, in a twelve-month, an addition to the circulating medium of the world of upward of $300,000,000 in market value. We see promise that the maximum product has not been reached, in fact there are well-informed people who believe that within a short period the gold product alone will increase from that of 1895, when it was $225,000,000, to $300,000,000, and that this increase will be largely due to the greater productiveness of the mines in the United States, which even last year led all the rest of the world in the production of gold. If one doubted the sufficiency of the circulating medium of the world, or the guarantees of its continued sufficiency for a long period before us, one could be reassured by contemplating the rise in values of all sound interest-bearing securities; in other words, by observing the continually shrinking value of money. A better barometer can hardly be furnished than English Consols, which recently passed the unprecedented figure of 110, and which are a security that within a few years will automatically bear only 2½ per cent per annum. Last year the English Government sold Treasury notes, to run twelve months, at ¾ per cent per annum. For many months private discount for sixty-day bills was ½ per cent per annum. At the same time short loans could be negotiated at the rate of ¼ per cent per annum. The Bank of England rate of discount has stood at 2 per cent longer than at any period in its history, and with the chance of an advance absolutely hidden from view. All signs point at the moment to another long period when private discount for sixty-day bills will not rule higher than ½ per cent per annum.

Surely these circumstances demonstrate that the United States is in a period favorable for the undoing of a great mistake—namely, the issue of the United States legal-tender notes. Surely it cannot be contended, when the world's output of gold and silver in coin value reaches the figures given and promises a steady increase for some years to come, when the United States alone contributed to that output in coin value, in 1895, about $80,000,000, and gives promise of increasing its contribution to fully $100,000,000 within the next few years,—surely then it cannot be contended that a gradual extinction of the United States legal-tender notes could injuriously contract our circulating medium. The belief is rather held by those experienced in financial affairs that with the cancellation of the legal-tender notes the price of money would fall in this country. It would inspire a con-

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fidence which has not existed since their creation; for the confidence restored for a short interval by the resumption of specie payments was shattered by the initiation of the policy of protecting silver. The presence of this confidence would mean more liberal credit toward the borrower, and less hoarding of gold or of other reserve funds maintained for the ever impending crises. It cannot be disputed that the recovery of confidence in the honesty and intelligence of our people on the subject of money—a recovery which would doubtless have the greatest influence on the price of money in this country—would lead to the transfer from abroad of vast amounts of idle capital which cannot find investment there with equal safety and extent of return as within our own borders.

So long as the so-called "friends" of silver seek its unlimited coinage into United States dollars at a time when each of such dollars is worth but half that of the gold dollar,—in whose company they declare it can circulate,—one may be indifferent to saying a favorable word for the metal. Yet it cannot be forgotten that we are a silver-producing country, and when we think of money silver may find a small place in our thoughts. Though we are unqualifiedly and unequivocally champions of the gold-dollar standard, we cannot escape from certain existing conditions. We have through past legislation injected about $500,000,000 in Treasury notes, silver certificates, and silver dollars into the country's circulation, and we must certainly hold out a protecting arm to that circulation, and guard the country, so far as our resources enable us, against that circulation finding the level its market value would dictate. The credit of the country is no doubt still sufficient for this purpose, which, it may be said in passing, it would not have been with a continued operation of the so-called Sherman act. Happily, the purchasing clause of that act was repealed. With that repeal a halt was called, and the credit of the country, now enjoying a breathing spell and not yet overstrained in its undertaking to preserve the parity of the gold and silver dollars in circulation, is, as above stated, undoubtedly sufficient, if the desire be present, to preserve that parity,—with the proviso, be it distinctly understood, that the "endless chain" be destroyed. The sufficiency, however, of the national credit to preserve the parity between the gold dollars and the Treasury notes, the silver-dollar certificate and other silver dollars now in circulation, can be largely reinforced and made so sure that even every doubting *Thomas* may believe. The silver-dollar currency now in circulation cannot be a menace if it finds its way, to nearly its full

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amount, into the pockets of the people; but it begets fear and conjures up pictures of disaster, when massed in banks or in the Treasury. May it not be assumed that, with the cancellation of the legal tenders, the amount of silver circulation now in existence will in the course of a few years, with the increase of our population, find ready absorption in the way spoken of? Should not this consummation also enlist those who make silver their special *protégé* (though generally on mistaken lines) in the cause of the retirement and cancellation of the legal tenders? With a large body of the people legal tenders and silver dollars are looked upon as of the same family, but they are not so. They are rather enemies. The legal tender is pure and simple fiat money, which should have no place under our Constitution. The enemies of silver dollars coined at the rate of 16 to 1 can at least admit that such dollars are only fiat money to the extent that the market value of the metal makes them worth less than their brothers in gold. The silver dollar should welcome the disappearance of its greenback brother, if thereby it can find for itself a new resting-place where its existence may escape notice until its value approximates more closely to that under which it masquerades,—if that time can ever come.

Experience is the best teacher, and if this be so, certainly we ought to have learned by now what it costs us to keep our currency in a disordered condition. The wealth and resources of the United States should ensure it the power to borrow at a rate of interest as low as that of any other nation in the world, and yet the recent negotiation of United States 4 per cent bonds showed that its credit was little better than a 3½ per cent basis, while that of England, gauged by Consols, allowing for the automatic reduction to 2½ per cent, is on a $2\frac{5}{16}$ per cent basis. The rate at which the Government can borrow serves as a standard for other securities, hence it can easily be imagined what an enormous expense it is to this country, which is mainly a borrowing one, to allow its monetary system to remain in a doubtful condition.

Those of our people who accept and believe the assertions herein made may thank themselves for the evils which will come to us if they remain silent. As stated in the prefatory words, the National Conventions will record the opinions which they think their constituents hold. It is only a few delegates among the many who have any convictions of their own. They need a mandate, and the people should give it in as few simple and unequivocal words as they know.

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They should demand a declaration in favor of the retirement and cancellation (if not immediate, at least gradual) of the United States legal-tender notes. Let the questions of bank-note issues and of the use of silver take care of themselves at some future time. The people should send representatives and elect a President pledged to the at least gradual retirement of legal-tender notes. Without instructions, such men could also be trusted not to enact laws which would give us a dangerous bank-note system, or injuriously inject additional silver-dollar currency into the circulation of the country.

A civil war of unparalleled cost freed the nation from slavery, and left in its train the bane of fiat money, which has been a continuous burden and expense to the people. Let the people rise and declare to their spokesmen in the coming National Conventions that this heritage of the civil war must be obliterated. May they not then deserve the gratitude of their descendants in almost equal measure with their forebears who accomplished the abolition of slavery, and who to-day receive thanks, it may be said, as much from the children of the Confederate leaders as from their own?

WILLIAM SALOMON.

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OUR DUTY TO CUBA.

"These islands [Cuba and Porto Rico] from their local position are natural appendages to the North American continent, and one of them, Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, has, from a multitude of considerations, become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. . . . Such, indeed, are, between the interests of that island and this country, the geographical, commercial, moral, and political relations formed by nature, gathering in the process of time, and even now verging to maturity, that in looking forward to the probable course of events for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself. . . . Cuba, forcibly disjointed from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her off from its bosom."

"If the war should continue between Spain and the new republics, and those islands [Cuba and Porto Rico] should become the object and theatre of it, their fortunes have such a connection with the prosperity of the United States that they could not be indifferent spectators, and the possible contingencies of such a protracted war might bring upon the government of the United States duties and obligations, the performance of which, however painful it should be, they might not be at liberty to decline."

THESE two quotations are taken from letters addressed by American secretaries of state to ministers of the United States in Spain. The author of the first was John Quincy Adams; of the second, Henry Clay. Both these eminent men having lived sometime ago, and being now dead, may be safely called statesmen. If they were alive and gave utterance to such sentiments to-day, they would be denounced by some select persons as "jingoes" and "politicians." Mr. Adams, it will be observed, goes indeed much farther than any one in our public life has gone at the present time, by boldly declaring that the annexation of Cuba will in the natural course of events become essential to the Union. I have cited these two expressions of opinion not merely because they were uttered by two of the ablest and most patriotic of American statesmen, but because they show that the Cuban question is not a new one, and that even at the outset the wisest and most far-seeing among our public men formally declared to the government of

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Spain the firm position and profound interest of the United States in regard to Cuba. I do this because in certain quarters at the present moment it seems to be supposed that the Cuban question is quite novel, and also because many excellent persons, who know nothing of the history of their own country and acquire their knowledge of current events from the headlines of one or two newspapers edited by aliens, appear to be laboring under the impression that the Cuban question has just been precipitated upon us for the first time by a few violent and dangerous men in both Houses of Congress. As a matter of fact the Cuban question is both an old and a sad one, and the attitude of the United States in regard to it has hitherto been consistent and well-defined. Every Administration, until we reach the one now in power, has declared in the plainest terms to the government of Spain and to the world that the condition of Cuba was a matter in which the United States had a vital interest and which could never be disregarded; or, as Edward Everett put it, that the Cuban question was a purely American one.

From the time of Clay and Adams down to the present day American secretaries of state have announced in the most formal manner, and Senators and members of Congress have repeated, that the United States would never suffer Cuba to pass into the hands of any other European power. Not once, but many times, it has been officially announced to our ministers abroad that any attempt on the part of Spain to transfer that island to another European power would be regarded by the United States as an act of war. In the repeated uprisings which have marked the history of the island since 1825 the sympathies of the American people with the Cuban patriots have always been strongly manifested. These revolutionary troubles led to many diplomatic representations on the part of our government, and, during the war of 1868, to an offer from the United States to pay a large sum of money or to guarantee the debt of the island if Spain would grant independence to the Cubans; also, later in the same war, to a threat of intervention.

Such in brief has been our policy in regard to Cuba; and, when we are called upon to deal again with this recurring problem, it is well to know what our policy has been and to follow the lines marked out by some of the ablest men who have been charged during this century with the conduct of our foreign relations. Every reasonable man who gives any thought to this subject will admit that the fate of Cuba is of great importance to the United States; that under no circumstances

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should we permit Spain to transfer the island to any other European power; and that when war has broken out in the island the problem becomes acute, presents issues which we must not neglect, and is likely at any moment to give rise to responsibilities which, as Mr. Clay said, we could not decline. These three points are so obvious and so clearly right that it is not necessary to enter into any argument in their support. They may be taken for granted. Then comes the immediate and practical question of what we ought to do at the present time. To be able to decide intelligently we must look first at the history of Cuba and then consider what action is demanded of the United States—not merely by her own interests but by the far broader and deeper interests of humanity and civilization.

When the other Spanish-American colonies revolted from the mother country Cuba remained faithful, and no revolution broke out in the island. The success, however, of the continental colonies in establishing their independence gradually made itself felt. In 1825 Bolivar offered to invade the island, where numerous societies were formed to support him; but the invasion was checked by the intervention of our government, which advised against it. Spain acted after her kind. Instead of ignoring the evidences of sympathy which had been shown toward Bolivar's proposed invasion, the Spanish Government, by an ordinance of the 28th of May, gave the Captain-General all the powers granted to the governors of besieged towns, that is to say, it put the whole island under martial law. With this piece of sweeping and needless tyranny resistance to Spain began in Cuba and has continued at intervals to the present day, each successive outbreak becoming more formidable and more desperate than the one which preceded it.

In 1826 an insurrection broke out, and its two chiefs were executed. Soon after came another known as the "Conspiracy of the Black Eagle," which was also repressed, and those engaged in it were imprisoned, banished, or executed. In 1837 the representatives of Cuba and Porto Rico were excluded from the Cortes on the ground that the colonies were to be governed by special law. In 1850 and 1851 occurred an expedition for the liberation of Cuba, and the death of its leader, Narciso Lopez. There were also expeditions under General Quitman and others, and in 1855 Ramon Pinto was put to death and many other patriots banished. After this, for a number of years, the Cubans attempted by peaceful methods to secure from the government at Madrid some relief from the oppression which weighed upon

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them and some redress for their many wrongs. All their efforts came to naught and such changes as were made were for the worse rather than for the better.

The result of all this was that in 1868 a revolution broke out under the leadership of Céspedes. The revolutionists did not succeed in getting beyond the eastern part of the island, but they were successful in many engagements. They crippled still farther the already broken power of Spain and they could not be put down by force of arms. The war dragged on for ten years and was brought to an end only by a treaty in which Martinez Campos, in the name of Spain, promised to the Cubans certain reforms for which they had taken up arms. In consideration of these reforms the insurgents were to abandon their fight for independence, lay down their arms, and receive a complete amnesty. The insurgents kept their word. They laid down their arms and abandoned their struggle for independence. Spain unhesitatingly violated the agreement. With a cynical disregard of good faith her promise of amnesty was only partially kept and she imprisoned or executed many who had been engaged in the insurgent cause, while the promised reforms were either totally neglected or carried out by some mockery, which had neither reality nor value.[1] The result of this treachery, of the bloodshed which accompanied it, and of the increased abuses in government which followed, was that the Cubans began again to prepare for revolt, and a year ago last February the present revolution broke out. The struggle now going on has developed much more rapidly than any which preceded it, and has been marked by far greater successes than the Cubans were able to obtain in the war which lasted from 1868 to 1878. In the preceding rebellion, which was maintained for ten years, the insurgents never succeeded in getting beyond the great central province of Santa Clara, and their operations were practically confined to the mountainous region in the eastern end of the island. It is not my purpose to enter into any discussion of the details of the present war. The Spanish bulletins which have been issued from day to day have been shown by events to be false and therefore worthless. I will lay them and the Cuban reports aside as unworthy of consideration, and confine myself to certain decisive facts of public notoriety which cannot be disputed.

[1] See pamphlet by Adam Badeau, Consul-General in Cuba, 1885; also statement of General Tomaso Estrada Palma, printed for use of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1896; and article by Clarence King in THE FORUM for September, 1895.

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A little more than a year ago General Gomez landed with 500 men at a point to the north of Santiago de Cuba, at the extreme eastern end of the island. He and Maceo and the other insurgent leaders are now in command of forces which the Spanish accounts admit to be not far short of 30,000 men and which could be easily doubled if arms could be obtained. During the past year the insurgents have marched six hundred and thirty miles, from the extreme eastern end of the island to the extreme western point. They have passed over and through La Trocha without difficulty. They have swept over the provinces of Santa Clara and Matanzas. They have marched back and forth through the entirely flat and open country of Pinar del Rio, the extreme western province, and they are to-day, and have been for some time, moving about with entire freedom in the immediate neighborhood of Havana—where they have on more than one occasion, as may be seen from the Spanish bulletins themselves, raided the suburbs of the capital city. They have cut all the railroads and have passed without difficulty through the lines which the Spaniards have drawn for the purpose of shutting them up in the western part of the island. The whole of the interior of the island is absolutely in their hands. The Spaniards hold nothing except the principal seaports, where their ships are at anchor, and the few scattered towns, where their troops are encamped. In view of these facts it is idle to waste time in discussing the results of particular actions. When the insurgents have shown themselves capable of marching from one end of the island to the other, of capturing towns, destroying railroads, and preventing the grinding of the sugar crop,—a perfectly legitimate war measure,—it is clear that the rebellion has been successful thus far and to a degree which the most sanguine friends of Cuba never dared to anticipate.

In the meantime the insurgents have formed a provisional government, held two elections, and adopted a constitution. The government has been duly inaugurated and the civil offices all filled. All the military officers hold commissions from the civil authorities. The officers of the provisional government are Cubans, white men, and of good family and position. Among the principal military officers there are only three of negro blood,—the two Maceos and one other. A great deal has been made of the point that the insurgents have no fixed seat of government. As their successful march across the island has been so rapid, it is not remarkable that the seat of government should have been moved; but it has been for some time established at Cubitas, in Cameguey, and has never been attacked by the enemy.

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It has also been urged against the insurgents that they have no port. This is due to the fact that they have no ships and, although they have taken several of the seaport towns,—Batabano quite recently,—they have been unable to hold them, because they did not have command of the sea and were without heavy ordnance. The smaller ports are all open to them and they have thus far found no difficulty in landing arms whenever a vessel with munitions of war has been able to escape from United States ports. These facts, which are established by all the despatches and by the inspection of the map,—which shows where the battles are fought,—are enough to demonstrate the great success of the insurgents and the utter failure of Spain, although she has sent 120,000 troops to the island, to even check the progress of the revolution.

It is not easy to procure disinterested testimony as to the condition of affairs in Cuba, but such unbiassed witnesses as we have corroborate the insurgent accounts and not those of the Spanish. The Hon. Hubert Howard, the son of the Earl of Carlisle, passed five weeks with the insurgent forces last autumn and published an account of his experiences in the January number of "The Contemporary Review." He entirely confirms the insurgent reports as to their early actions with the Spaniards, and he was present when the army received a visit from the officers of the provisional government, who had just been elected. Mr. Howard testifies to the success of the insurgents, to the fact of their having a duly elected civil government, and to their successes in the field, concluding with an expression of his earnest wish that the United States would recognize them as belligerents. The reports of our consuls, which have been submitted to the House,—although they do not come down to a very recent time,—substantially corroborate the insurgent account of the early operations of the war. American correspondents, who have sent out reports which were not submitted to Spanish censorship, give the same view as to the condition of affairs and prove the falsity of the statements emanating from Spanish sources. For sending such despatches one newspaper correspondent was banished from the island, and another imprisoned in the Moro castle; but, thanks to their efforts and to those of others, some despatches have got through without being edited at Spanish headquarters, and they depict the situation in accordance with the general claims of the insurgents and not at all in accordance with those of Spain.

The situation which confronts the United States is, then, briefly stated, as follows:

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The island of Cuba, which lies but a short distance from our coast, is now again, after recurring revolutions and disorders extending over seventy years, the scene of a revolution more formidable and successful than any which has preceded it. American property in the island is being destroyed and our commerce with Cuba is being ruined. The ablest and most humane general in Spain, who brought the previous insurrection to a close by judicious concessions, has been recalled,—which is in itself a confession of failure,—and has been replaced by a man notorious for his ferocity and brutality. This new general, Weyler, has reverted to the methods of warfare employed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands three hundred years ago, when the ruin of the Spanish Empire began; which is very characteristic, for the Spaniards, although they learn nothing, have, unlike the Bourbons, forgotten many things. For many years it has been clear that Spain could not hold the island. If this war fails, it will be followed by another a few years hence. But it seems tolerably clear that Spain is unable to suppress this insurrection. She may complete the ruin of Cuba, but she cannot conquer the Cubans. The present war therefore is as useless as it is bloody and savage.

Under these circumstances the question arises, and cannot be put aside, as to what is the duty of the United States. Three courses are open to us. We can recognize the belligerency of the insurgents; we can offer our good offices to Spain to secure the peace and independence of the island; or we can do both. As to belligerency, it is a mere question of fact to be decided by the nation which has been asked for recognition and the proclamation thereof made at such time as the recognizing nation may see fit. Recognition of belligerency is not a *casus belli*, and any nation is at liberty to give it whenever it determines that it is proper to do so. The general facts known to the world and set forth in this article seem to me to establish clearly the fact of belligerency, and our government should have recognized this fact long ago. We are under no obligation toward Spain to withhold our recognition of the belligerency of the Cubans. On the contrary we have practised a forbearance in this respect which Spain did not show to us. In the language of Mr. Fish in a letter to the Spanish minister, dated Oct. 13, 1869:—

"This concession [of belligerent rights to the South] was made by Spain on the 17th day of June, 1861, only sixty-six days after the assault on Fort Sumter, the outbreak of the rebellion, and which was the only combat or conflict of arms of which any account had reached Europe at the date of Spain's action in the

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matter: a single and bloodless combat, an attack upon a handful of half-starved men being the extent of war on which Spain based the 'fact of belligerency.'"

During the ten years' war from 1868 to 1878 we withheld our recognition of Cuban belligerency. During this present war the insurgents have been in the field more than a year. They have established a government, fought many battles, and have overrun the island. If we are to be guided by Spanish action toward us, we are infinitely more justified in recognizing Cuban belligerency than Spain was when she recognized the belligerency of the Southern Confederacy.

The other course is that of using our good offices to secure the independence of the island. This was the policy pursued by Mr. Fish, who endeavored to purchase Cuban independence from Spain. It was approved at that time by Mr. Sumner, although he felt a very natural reluctance to extend any help to the Cubans while negro slavery still existed in the island. At a later date, in 1876, Mr. Fish declared that the United States would intervene unless the war was brought to an end,—a declaration that undoubtedly hastened the concessions which stopped hostilities. This policy of Grant's Administration has far stronger reasons for immediate adoption and vigorous enforcement now than it had then.

So far, however, nothing has been done for Cuba except the expression of profound sympathy adopted in different forms, but by overwhelming majorities, in both branches of Congress. If the Administration had shown the slightest sympathy with the struggling Cubans or had given any evidence of an appreciation of the importance of the Cuban question to the United States and of our previous policy in regard to it, I, for one, should have been averse to even the expression of an opinion by Congress. But the Administration, not content with manifesting great indifference to the question, has thus far ranged itself upon the side of Spain. It has gone beyond its plain duty of preserving neutrality. It has seized vessels, carrying merely munitions of war and unarmed men, which it had no right to seize and which the United States courts in more than one instance have promptly released. It has gone even farther than this. While it may be the duty of a neutral power to pursue a ship, supposed to have an armed expedition on board, from the port from which that expedition set forth, it is not called upon to send out ships to intercept vessels on the high seas where it has no jurisdiction. Direct pursuit from the point of departure, of a vessel believed to have violated the law, is one thing and no doubt permissible; but to undertake to police the high

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seas and intercept such a vessel is not neutrality, but taking sides with one party in the war, and is unwarranted. Yet this is precisely what our present Administration did when it sent out the "Raleigh" and "Montgomery" to intercept the "Hawkins" and seize her on the high seas. This was not neutrality; it was taking part with the government of Spain and assisting that government to put down the Cuban insurrection.

It was this attitude of the Administration which forced Congress after three months of waiting to give expression to its own sentiments and to those of the great body of the American people. With an Administration which up to the present time has shown itself hostile or indifferent to the Cuban cause, the action of the two Houses of Congress had little practical value; but it served at least to call the attention of the American people more sharply to the condition of affairs in Cuba and to inform them more fully as to the facts. This is all that can be hoped for from the government, unless the Administration sees fit to change its present course; but it may be safely predicted that the American people will not long suffer the Cuban war, as it is now conducted, to go on indefinitely without any attempt on their part to bring it to an end.

In 1869 Charles Sumner said of the war then raging in Cuba:—

> "For myself I cannot doubt that in the interest of both parties, Cuba and Spain, and in the interest of humanity also, the contest should be closed. This is my judgment on the facts, so far as known to me. Cuba must be saved from its bloody delirium, or little will be left for the final conqueror. Nor can the enlightened mind fail to see that the Spanish power on this island is an anachronism. The day of European colonies has passed—at least in this hemisphere, where the rights of man were first proclaimed and self-government first organized."

Mr. Sumner's words state the larger aspect of the question exactly as it is to-day. The danger to American property in Cuba, the ruin of American commerce, the immense field which would be opened to American enterprise, and the market which would be secured for American products by Cuban independence, as well as the enormous geographical and political importance of the island,—are all weighty reasons for decisive action on our part. But these reasons are pecuniary, material, and interested. That which makes action imperative on the part of the United States in regard to Cuba, rests on a higher ground than any of these. Such a war as is now being waged in Cuba—unrestrained by any of the laws of civilized warfare and marked

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by massacre and ferocious reprisals at every step—is a disgrace to civilization. It is as useless as it is brutal. Spain is in truth "an anachronism" in the western hemisphere. It is impossible that she should long retain even this last foothold. Spanish-American governments have no doubt fallen far short of the standards of the English-speaking race, but they have been an immense improvement on the stupid and cruel misgovernment of Spain. It is no argument to say that, because the Spanish-American governments are not up to our standard, the Cubans should be compelled to remain crushed beneath the misgovernment of Spain,—especially when we remember that, although there are many negroes and mulattoes in Cuba, the whites are whites of pure race and not mixed with Indian blood as on the continent.

This is a world of comparative progress, and freedom from Spain would be to Cuba a long step in advance on the highroad of advancing civilization. The interests of humanity are the controlling reasons which demand the beneficent interposition of the United States to bring to an end this savage war and give to the island peace and independence. No great nation can escape its responsibilities. We freely charge England with responsibility for the hideous atrocities in Armenia. But it is the merest cant to do this if we shirk our own duty. We have a responsibility with regard to Cuba. We cannot evade it and, if we seek to do so, sooner or later we shall pay the penalty. But the American people, whose sympathies are strongly with the Cubans fighting for their liberties, will no longer suffer this indifference toward them to continue. If one Administration declines to meet our national responsibilities as they should be met, there will be put in power another Administration which will neither neglect nor shun its plain duty to the United States and to the cause of freedom and humanity.

H. C. Lodge.

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THE QUESTION OF CUBAN BELLIGERENCY.

THREE causes have contributed to create in the United States a special interest in the Cuban question: first, sympathy with the idea of Cuba's independence of Spain; second, the oppressive character of Spanish colonial rule; and, third, the desire to annex the island to the United States. Against the combined operation of these causes, of which the last has at times been exceedingly influential, the Government of the United States has often found it difficult to preserve an attitude of neutrality. That it has succeeded in so doing is a fact that bears ample testimony to the consistent determination with which our Government has sought to discharge its international obligations. Nor have its efforts been confined to restraining the lawless impulses of some of its own citizens. In many cases it has been required to repress flagrant attempts to violate its statutes by persons of Cuban origin, who sought to aid, and sometimes to create, insurrection in the island by means of hostile expeditions set on foot in the United States in defiance of our neutrality. That such attempts were made is not surprising; but that it was the duty of the Government to repress them is unquestionable. Nothing could be more unworthy of a great government than a fraudulent neutrality, carried out by conniving at the violation of its own laws.

The Cuban question, after slumbering for nearly twenty years, is again to the front. The insurrection which began more than a year ago still continues; the columns of the press are daily filled with rumors, often palpably sensational, as to the progress of the conflict; and the vigilance of our authorities is constantly exerted to prevent attempted violations of our own laws. On June 12 last the President issued a proclamation calling attention to the prohibitions of our neutrality statutes, and warning all persons to abstain from breaking them. He has also declined to recognize the belligerency of the insurgents; and in his annual message to Congress on December 2 last he declared that whatever might be "the traditional sympathy of our countrymen as individuals with a people who seem to be struggling for a larger autonomy and greater freedom, deepened as such sympathy naturally must

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be in behalf of our neighbors, yet the plain duty of their Government is to observe in good faith the recognized obligations of international relationship." Since this declaration was made the question of recognizing the belligerency of the insurgents has been discussed in Congress, and each House, upon the same information as that before the President, has in one form or another expressed the opinion that such recognition should be accorded. As the President is charged by the Constitution with the conduct of our foreign relations, and as the power rests with him to concede or to withhold the recognition of belligerency, it is important to inquire whether, as the action of Congress implies, his conclusions as to his duty have been erroneous and should now be reversed.

The resolution of the Senate (in which the House has just concurred), while expressing the opinion that the insurgents should be recognized as belligerents, declares that the Government of the United States "should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers." This resolution necessarily assumes that the facts are such as to warrant the United States, as a neutral government, in according to the insurgents the status of belligerency, or else it is self-destructive; for, unless the facts justify recognition, the United States, in according it, would not be maintaining "a strict neutrality." Belligerency, like independence, is a question of fact, in the determination of which neutral governments do not take into consideration the question of right between the contending parties. Such was the rule announced by the United States to the envoy of Texas in 1837; it had often been announced before and it has often been repeated since. Its reason is so obvious that it is almost superfluous to state it. When a government assumes to guide its course not by the actual state of the hostilities, but by its opinion of the merits of the controversy, it abandons the position of a neutral for that of a partisan, and enters upon the pathway of intervention. Let us, therefore, consider whether the facts afford any ground for the recognition of the insurgents as belligerents.

According to the reports of our consular officers the present insurrection, which began in February, 1895, in the provinces of Santiago de Cuba and Matanzas, was at first limited to a small number of persons, including the banditti element in the mountains, and was not supported by any of the three regular political parties, which represent the planting, industrial and commercial, as well as the professional, classes of the island, and comprise the greater part of the population. There existed, however, among the laboring class, which is composed chiefly of negroes on the plantations, much discontent due to low and

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uncertain wages, resulting from the depressed prices of sugar and tobacco, and to the high cost of provisions and clothing, resulting from the prevailing system of taxation. These circumstances explain the following passage in a report from Mr. Hyatt, the United States consul at Santiago de Cuba, of March 1, 1895: "The insurgent element so far is confined mostly to the negro population, which predominates. The whites and property owners hope that the reforms promised by the government will be put into effect, and that the movement will be suppressed before much property is destroyed and lives are lost." This hope proved to be deceptive. Antonio and José Maceo, who are mulattoes, and who, after Gomez, are now the most prominent leaders in the insurrection, incited the negroes to leave the cane fields and join the ranks of the insurgents. Among the whites, also, the spirit of revolt began to spread. A plan of campaign was adopted which has admirably served at once to keep the insurrection alive and to increase the number of its adherents. While avoiding pitched battles with the Spanish forces, the insurgents have moved rapidly from one part of the island to another, leaving destruction in their track. In this way they destroy the resources of the government and swell the army of the discontented. On November 6 last, Gomez issued a proclamation declaring that all plantations should be totally destroyed, their cane and outbuildings burned, and that all laborers who aided the sugar factories should be condemned and shot. Contributions have been levied on the planters, whenever practicable. Towns have been burned. Mr. Williams, our able consul-general at Havana, in a report of the 7th of January, on the operations of the insurgents in the provinces of Pinar del Rio and Havana, says: "Besides the burning of cane fields, the newspapers report cases of damage to railroads by displacing rails, the blowing up of culverts, burning of bridges and stations; also, the pillaging of country stores, the carrying off of horses, saddles, and bridles from farms on their line of march for the mounting of men, and the slaughter of cattle for food. . . . The insurgents appear, while carrying on their work of destruction of private property, to have been able, thus far, to elude all encounter with the government troops." Later reports are of the same tenor. On January 10, Gomez, in view of the general suspension of plantation work in the western districts of the island, issued a new decree prohibiting the burning of the cane fields, but ordering the destruction of the buildings and machinery of all the plantations that resumed work. The insurgent operations are carried on chiefly in the interior of the

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island, where the mountains and swamps afford convenient retreats, while the government holds all the coast and the seaports.

It is evident that a war is in progress in Cuba; but it is equally evident that it presents the features of guerilla rather than of regular warfare. In these conditions, the account of which I have taken from the correspondence transmitted by the President to Congress, what is the ground on which a foreign government, while professing to maintain "a strict neutrality," could legally justify a recognition of the insurgents as belligerents? The mere existence of war does not justify such a measure. War is of different kinds and may exist in different degrees. In the last ten years there have been various wars in this hemisphere, in which the United States either omitted or refused to accord to insurgents the status of belligerency, though they held a portion of territory from which they were able by force of arms to exclude the exercise of authority by the titular government. This condition of things characterizes every war carried on on land; and such a war is not converted into a public war merely by the proclamation by insurgents of a plan of government. The only kind of war that justifies the recognition of insurgents as belligerents is what is called "public war"; and before civil war can be said to possess that character the insurgents must present the aspect of a political community or *de facto* power, having a certain coherence, and a certain independence of position, in respect of territorial limits, of population, of interests, and of destiny. The Senate resolution admits this, for it declares that, "in the opinion of Congress, a public war exists between the government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba"; and from this declaration it deduces the conclusion that the United States should maintain a strict neutrality between the "contending powers," according to each "all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States." But, upon the facts so far disclosed, in what sense can it be asserted either that the insurgents are "the people of Cuba," or that they are "maintaining a government"?

But, in addition to the elements already noticed, there is yet another condition essential to a proper recognition of a state of public war, and that is the existence of an emergency, actual or imminent, such as makes it incumbent upon neutral powers to define their relations to the conflict. Hall, in his recent work on "International Law" (4th edition, p. 36), says that, "so long as a government is struggling with insurgents isolated in the midst of loyal provinces and conse-

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quently removed from contact with foreign states, the interests of the latter are rarely touched, and probably are never touched in such a way that they can be served by recognition. . . . In the case of maritime war the assumption of propriety lies in the opposite direction." Lawrence, in his excellent work on "The Principles of International Law" (section 163), which has lately appeared, says that to the legal concession of belligerency two conditions are essential: first, the struggle should have attained the dimensions of war in the international sense; and, second, there must be a necessity for the recognition. "When," he says, "an insurrection is confined to a district in the interior of a country, other states would be acting in an unfriendly manner if they recognized the belligerency of the insurgents, because by the nature of the case the incidents of the conflict could not directly affect their subjects." Dana, in his edition of Wheaton (p. 34), declares that the only reason which can justify the recognition of insurgents as belligerents is, that the rights and interests of the neutral "are so far affected as to require a definition of its own relations to the parties"; that, where a parent government is undertaking to subdue an insurrection by municipal force, "a recognition by a foreign state of full belligerent rights, if not justified by necessity, is a gratuitous demonstration of moral support to the rebellion, and of censure upon the parent government"; and that, if the contest "is solely on land, and the foreign state is not contiguous, it is difficult to imagine a call for recognition."

The views of the Government of the United States, as they have been from time to time announced, are wholly in accord with those of the authorities whose words have just been cited. In 1810 and 1811 insurrections broke out in the Spanish colonies in this hemisphere. But it was not till 1815, when vessels bearing the flags of the insurrectionary governments appeared in our ports, that the United States made any decision as to the question of belligerency. At that time, said Mr. Monroe, in consequence of the unsettled state of many countries and of repeated changes in the ruling authority of each, the President deemed it proper to give orders to the collectors of customs not to make the flag of any vessel the criterion or condition of its admission into United States ports. His action was limited to the necessities of the case.

During the insurrection in Cuba, which began in October, 1868, President Grant, adhering to our well-established policy, refused to recognize the insurgents as belligerents. The reasons which he gave for this decision completely apply to the facts so far disclosed as to the present condition of things in Cuba. He said:

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"The question of belligerency is one of fact, not to be decided by sympathies with or prejudices against either party. The relations between the parent state and the insurgents must amount, in fact, to war in the sense of international law. Fighting, though fierce and protracted, does not alone constitute war; there must be military forces acting in accordance with the rules and customs of war—flags of truce, cartels, exchange of prisoners, etc.,—and to justify a recognition of belligerency there must be, above all, a *de facto* political organization of the insurgents sufficient in character and resources to constitute it, if left to itself, a state among nations capable of discharging the duties of a state, and of meeting the just responsibilities it may incur as such toward other powers in the discharge of its national duties.

"Applying the best information which I have been enabled to gather, whether from official or unofficial sources, including the very exaggerated statements which each party gives of all that may prejudice the opposite or give credit to its own side of the question, I am unable to see, in the present condition of the contest in Cuba, those elements which are requisite to constitute war in the sense of international law.

"The insurgents hold no town or city; have no established seat of government; they have no prize courts; no organization for the receiving and collecting of revenue; no seaport to which a prize may be carried, or through which access can be had by a foreign power to the limited interior territory and mountain fastnesses which they occupy. The existence of a legislature representing any popular constituency is more than doubtful.

"In the uncertainty that hangs around the entire insurrection there is no palpable evidence of an election, of any delegated authority, or of any government outside the limits of the camps occupied from day to day by the roving companies of insurgent troops. There is no commerce; no trade, either internal or foreign; no manufactures." [Message to Congress of June 13, 1870.]

Five years later, in his annual message to Congress of December 7, 1875, President Grant reaffirmed the views which he had previously expressed. The United States should, he declared, "carefully avoid the false lights which might lead it into mazes of doubtful law and of questionable propriety, and adhere rigidly and sternly to the rule which has been its guide of doing only that which is right and honest and of good report"; and, adverting to the fact that the conflict still continued to be on land, and that the insurrection had no seaport whence it might send forth its flag, "nor any means of communication with foreign powers except through the military lines of its adversaries," he pointed out that no apprehension of any of the sudden and difficult complications which a war upon the ocean was apt to precipitate called for a definition by foreign powers of their relation to the conflict.

Yet in 1870 and in 1875, just as to-day, the Cuban insurgents maintained a "government" on paper, and maintained it in the name of "the people of Cuba." In March, 1869, Señor Céspedes, the "President of the Republic of Cuba," in an address to President Grant, de-

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clared that "the armies of the republic" numbered more than 70,000 men, in the field and doing duty; that its "arms and authority" extended over "two thirds of the entire geographical area of the island, embracing a very great majority of the population in every part" of it; and that a navy was in course of construction. On the "31st day of May, 1869, in the second year of the independence of Cuba," he issued a commission to an "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary near the government of the United States." In the following December formal written statements, including affidavits, were submitted to the government of the United States, setting forth that the Cuban republic had been recognized as an independent nation by Peru; that it had been recognized as a belligerent by Chili, Bolivia, and Mexico; that it owned five ships which had been purchased with a view to form a navy; that it had a constitution and a congress and a capital; that it had established a department of war, of finance, of the interior, and of public instruction; that it controlled the civil relations of the people of the island by laws of its own enacting, administered by its courts and officials; that it had declared ports closed to commerce; and that it had issued paper money which was exchanged at par with gold and silver! It is obvious that the assertions, if they had all been supported by competent evidence, would have merited the serious consideration of the United States. But the Administration was not so simple as to accept as fact, in the broadest sense, every assertion of an insurgent party, while utterly discrediting not only the statements of the titular government, but also the reports of its own officers.

It is well-known that at one time in 1869 President Grant had, under great pressure, substantially decided to extend to the insurgents belligerent rights, and that he abandoned the intention upon the advice of his Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish; and it has been said that Mr. Fish was controlled in his course by consideration for the commercial interests of the city of New York. Whether those interests, which represent in so important a manner the commercial interests of the whole country, deserve any consideration at the hands of an American statesman, is a question which I shall not attempt to discuss. But, after a comprehensive examination of what Mr. Fish said and did in regard to the Cuban insurrection, I am unable to discover the slightest evidence that he was controlled by consideration for commercial interests of any kind. In a private journal kept by Mr. Fish during his term as Secretary of State, there appears under date of February 19, 1870, the following entry:

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"Called this morning (by appointment) to see Senator John Sherman on subject of the 'Unit of Coinage.' After conversing on that question, I referred to his resolution introduced in the Senate, and his speech in favor of recognizing the belligerency of Cuba, and asked if he had recently examined the treaty with Spain of 1795. He said he had not; was not aware of the existence of such a treaty. I referred to its provisions, and to the probable consequences of the exercise by Spain of the right of visit (or of search). I thought our people would not submit to it, and that the consequences would soon develop in war; I said that fighting was not belligerency; there is fighting but no belligerency in Cuba; there is no government of the insurrectionary party, no political organization, etc. He admitted that he had not examined the subject closely, but said there is a good deal of excitement in the country on the subject. I advised him, in connection with the passing of his resolution of belligerency, to prepare bills for the increase of the public debt, and to meet the increased appropriation which will be necessary for the army, navy, etc."

On July 10, 1870, Mr. Fish, who had accepted the office of Secretary of State with the understanding that his tenure of it should be merely provisional, expressed, in a conversation with the President, a desire to retire. The President strongly urged him not to do so, assuring him that his "course was not only entirely satisfactory to him, but gave satisfaction and confidence to the country." On this subject the journal reads as follows

"The President said: 'Without referring to other instances, on two important occasions at least your steadiness and wisdom have kept me from mistakes into which I should have fallen. On one of these occasions, you led, too, against my judgment at the time—you almost forced me—in the matter of signing the late Cuban message. I now see how right it was, and I desire most sincerely to thank you. The measure was right and the whole country acquiesces in it.' He repeated that he wished to thank me especially for those two occasions. They were, one, preventing the issuing, last August and September, of the proclamation of Cuban belligerency which he had signed, and which he wrote me a note instructing me to sign (which I did) and to issue (which I did not); and, second, the Cuban message of June 13."

It is said that the United States should now recognize the Cuban insurgents as belligerents, as a kind of retorsion for Spain's acknowledgment of the belligerency of the Confederate States in 1861. An examination of the circumstances will show that this argument is quite destitute of foundation. On December 20, 1860, a duly elected convention in the State of South Carolina adopted an ordinance of secession, declaring that the union between that State and the other States of the United States was dissolved. Before the end of May, 1861, ten other States,—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina,—had

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passed similar ordinances. The progress of the movement is summarized in "Appleton's Cyclopædia" thus:

"On February 4, 1861, a congress composed of delegates from the States that had then seceded, assembled at Montgomery, Ala., and framed a constitution for the 'Confederate States of America.' Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was chosen President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President; a government was organized and measures were taken to create an army. The Senators and Representatives from the seceded States withdrew from the United States Congress. Nothing was done by President Buchanan's Administration to thwart the purposes of the secessionists, who proceeded to seize the arsenals, custom-houses, navy-yards, and forts throughout the South. At the close of his term, only Fort Sumter at Charleston, S. C., and Fort Pickens at Pensacola, Fla., with the posts on the Florida keys, remained in the possession of the government in the seven States that had then seceded. . . . The first warlike act was the bombardment by the Confederates, under General Beauregard, of Fort Sumter, which was commanded by Major Anderson, with a garrison of 109 men. Fire was opened on April 12, 1861, and continued on the 13th, and Major Anderson was compelled to evacuate the fort on the 14th, sailing with his garrison to New York. . . . The next day (April 15) President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling upon the Governors of the several States for a force of 75,000 militia for three months. . . . On May 13, General B. F. Butler took military possession of Baltimore, repressing the secession element in that city. In the meantime the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry (April 18) and the Gosport navy-yard near Norfolk, Va., (April 21), fell into the hands of the Confederates. On April 19 and 27 the President issued proclamations declaring a blockade of the ports of the seceded States."

It thus appears that before the end of May, 1861, a large portion of the people of the United States, comprising a population of upward of 5,000,000 persons exclusive of slaves, had thrown off the authority of the United States and were maintaining a government of their own over the vast region which they inhabited and controlled, including the whole extent of its coast. The ports of the seceded States being in the possession of their authorities, who collected duties and administered the customs, the Government of the United States sought to close them to foreign commerce by an act of public war. In April two proclamations of blockade were issued, and orders were given for their enforcement. Of the four vessels before the Supreme Court of the United States in the Prize Cases (2 Black, 635), two were seized in May. Mr. Dana, in his argument for the condemnation of the vessels, speaking for the Government, said that the proclamations of blockade were "belligerent acts, and not municipal surveillance"; they were declared to be "in pursuance of the law of nations." Mr. Justice Grier, in delivering the opinion of the court, said:

"This greatest of civil wars was not gradually developed by popular commotion, tumultuous assemblies, or local unorganized insurrections. However long

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may have been its previous conception, it nevertheless sprang forth suddenly from the parent brain, a Minerva in the full panoply of war. . . . The proclamation of blockade is itself official and conclusive evidence that a state of war existed which demanded and authorized a recourse to such a measure, under the circumstances peculiar to the case. . . . In organizing this rebellion, they have *acted as States* claiming to be sovereign over all persons and property within their respective limits, and asserting a right to absolve their citizens from their allegiance to the Federal Government. . . . Their right to do so is now being decided by wager of battle. The ports and territory of each of these States are held in hostility to the General Government. It is no loose, unorganized insurrection, having no defined boundary or possession. It has a boundary marked by lines of bayonets, and which can be crossed only by force,—south of this line is enemies' territory, because it is claimed and held in possession by an organized, hostile and belligerent power."

Spain's proclamation of neutrality was not issued till June 17, 1861, after both Great Britain and France had issued proclamations. It was claimed by the United States that Great Britain's action was especially precipitate, on the ground, among others, that, when her proclamation was issued, her government did not know that the blockade would be enforced. But on May 2, 1861, a month and a half before Spain issued her proclamation, Mr. Seward informed the Spanish minister that the blockade would be "strictly enforced upon the principles recognized by the law of nations." In the case of the United States at Geneva, a tribute is paid to the fidelity with which Spain performed her neutral obligations. "Spain," said the United States on that occasion, "followed France in the track of England, but care was taken to avoid, in the royal proclamations, the use of the word 'belligerents.' It has been seen with what fidelity and impartiality the authorities at Cardenas carried out the letter and the spirit of this proclamation when the 'Florida' arrived from Nassau in the summer of 1862."

We come now to the practical question. What benefit would it confer on the Cuban insurgents to declare them to be belligerents? The answer is, under present conditions, none whatever. It would in no wise alter their relations to the government of Spain, which could still regard them as criminals, if it saw fit to do so. In 1862 some seamen in the service of the Confederacy were convicted of piracy at Philadelphia. The Confederate Government threatened retaliation if they were harmed, and they were not sentenced, but handed over to the military authorities. It never was suggested that their relations to the United States were affected by the proclamations of foreign powers. To the end of the war the Government of the United States continued to denounce the Confederate cruisers as pirates. Moreover,

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the Cuban insurgents can at the present time purchase arms and munitions of war; they, and their friends and sympathizers, can go and come unarmed and unorganized to take part in the conflict; they can sell their securities to any one who will buy them. More than this they could not do, if their belligerency were recognized, unless they had ships on the ocean. They could neither employ persons in the United States to serve in their forces, nor fit out and arm vessels in our ports, nor set on foot hostile expeditions from our territory. On the other hand, Spain would immediately be invested by international law, as well as by the treaty of 1795, with the international rights of belligerency, which she has so far not claimed, including the right of visitation and search on the high seas, and the capture and condemnation of our vessels for violations of neutrality. It would enable Spain practically to put an end to the transportation of munitions of war for the insurgents. It would place under Spanish supervision all that vast commerce which passes through the waters adjacent to Cuba. Referring to this aspect of the matter, President Grant, in his message of 1875, said: "There can be little doubt to what result such a supervision would before long draw this nation. It would be unworthy of the United States to inaugurate the possibilities of such result by measures of questionable right or expediency, or by any indirection."

It is as a step toward this "result"—a war between the United States and Spain—that recognition of belligerency, not as a measure of neutrality based on facts, but as a promise of support inspired by sympathy, is sought by the agents of the insurgents. It is for this reason that I confess to a certain liking for the speech of Senator Mills, in which he proposes that, if the government of Spain should refuse to grant to the people of Cuba, upon the request of the United States, the power of local self-government, the United States shall take possession of the island "and hold it until its inhabitants can institute such government as they may wish, and organize and arm such forces as may be necessary to support it." This proposition presents the logical issue of intervention or non-intervention, but, in considering it, we should assume that the United States, if it once took possession of the island, never would release it unless compelled to do so. Apart from motives of cupidity, the interests of commerce and of public order would demand its retention. Of the population of Cuba one third is composed of negroes and mulattoes just emerging from barbarism, and the other two thirds are composed largely of illiterate whites of Spanish descent and undeveloped political capacity, but apparently tinctured

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with a revolutionary propensity. Such conditions could hardly be expected in themselves to produce better results than have been attained in the republics of Central America, and of the political state of those commonwealths a hasty glance at the volumes of the Foreign Relations of the United States reveals the following illustrations:

1870. Rebellion in Guatemala.

1871. Insurrection in Guatemala; war between Honduras and Salvador.

1872. Guerilla war on Honduras; Salvador declares war against Honduras; Guatemala joins Salvador; government in Salvador overthrown by a revolution.

1873. Attempted revolution in Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador; Salvador and Guatemala make war on Honduras; conspiracy to overthrow the government in Costa Rica.

1875. Attempt to overthrow the government in Costa Rica.

1876. Revolutionary plottings in Guatemala.

1877. Attempt to assassinate President Barrios of Guatemala; ex-President Medina of Honduras shot for treason on the sentence of a council of war.

1885. War between Salvador and Guatemala; President Barrios killed; revolution in Salvador; Nicaragua intervenes in the Salvadorean revolution; revolution in Honduras; Salvador invades Nicaragua.

1886. Peace concluded between Nicaragua and Salvador; revolutionary plottings in Honduras, Salvador, and Nicaragua.

1887. Revolutionary plottings in various states; constitution suspended in Guatemala, and the president becomes dictator; revolutionary movement in Salvador.

1890. Revolution in Salvador; President Menendez dies of apoplexy or is assassinated; Carlos Ezeta, his *protégé*, who got up the revolution, proclaims himself president; Antonio Ezeta, his brother, becomes vice-president and commander-in-chief of the army; martial law declared; war between Guatemala and Salvador; United States consulate outraged.

1891. Threatenings of war.

1892. Attempted revolution in Honduras.

1893. Dictatorship proclaimed in Guatemala; revolution in Honduras.

1894. War between Nicaragua and Honduras; revolution in Salvador.

These facts, which appear incidentally in a publication not specially designed to disclose them, furnish matter for serious reflection as to our future relations to Cuba, when it is proposed to intervene for the purpose of expelling the government of Spain. And if Spain should be expelled by our aid, and, at the close of the war, the island should remain, as probably would be the case, in our possession, it is doubtful whether the confidence of the world in the benevolence of our motives would be strong enough to save us from the imputation of having committed a wilful act of spoliation.[1] J. B. MOORE.

[1] In October, 1854, during a period of violent agitation for the annexation of Cuba to the United States, Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, our ministers, respectively, at London, Paris, and Madrid, after conferring together at Ostend on

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the prospects of annexation, made a report to William L. Marcy, who was then Secretary of State. In this report, which is known as the "Ostend Manifesto," it was said that "if Spain, deaf to the voice of her own interest, and actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States," the time would then have come for the United States to consider whether Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endangered "our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union"; that, if this question should be answered in the affirmative, "then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power"; and that we should be "recreant to our duty—be unworthy of our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity, should we permit Cuba to be Africanized and to become a second St. Domingo." It is to the doctrine thus euphemistically expressed, which was then attracting great attention, that Marcy referred in the following letter, which has not heretofore been published:

Private and Confidential.

WASHINGTON, April 15, 1855.

L. B. SHEPARD, ESQ., New York,

My Dear Sir:

I have not time to say much, though I have much to say, on the subject to which your letter of yesterday refers.

I am entirely opposed to getting up a war for the purpose of seizing Cuba; but if the conduct of Spain should be such as to justify a war, I should not hesitate to meet that state of things. The authorities of Cuba act unwisely, but not so much so as is represented. They are more alarmed than they need to be in regard to dangers from this country, though it cannot be said that the filibuster spirit and movements do not furnish just grounds of apprehension. They have a clear right to take measures for defence, but what those measures may be, it is not easy to define. In exercising their own rights they are bound to respect the rights of other nations. This they have not done in all cases. That they have deliberately intended to commit wrong against the U. S. I do not believe; but that they have done so I do not deny. The conduct of Spain and the Cuban authorities has been exaggerated and even misrepresented in some of our leading journals, particularly in the "Union." I cannot speak of the views of the conductors of the latter paper, for I have little or no intercourse with them. From what I have seen in it, I am not much surprised at the opinion that it is for war, right or wrong: but I venture to assure you that such is not the policy of the Administration. It does not want war, would avoid it, but would not shrink from it, if it becomes necessary in the defence of our just rights.

The robber doctrine, I abhor. If carried out it would degrade us in our own estimation and disgrace us in the eyes of the civilized world. Should the Administration commit the fatal folly of acting upon it, it could not hope to be sustained by the country, and would leave a tarnished name to all future times.

Cuba would be a very desirable possession, if it came to us in the right way, but we cannot afford to get it by robbery or theft. There are two sides to the question of acquisition which are well stated in an article in the "N. Intelligencer" of yesterday, taken from the Charleston "Mercury" of 1852. I am for getting the island, if it can be acquired fairly and honestly, not otherwise. I do not believe the robber doctrine when calmly considered will be popular or that a party can sustain itself upon it. Yours truly, W. L. MARCY.

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NEED OF BETTER HOMES FOR WAGE-EARNERS.

THE two civilizing agencies of highest value for laboring people, next to industrial training and baths, are bay windows and front door-bells.

Putting effect for cause, somebody will object. The bay window and front door-bell arrive only after the working man has reached assured comfort and a degree of independence; they are signs of, rather than helps to, advancement.

Not at all. The toiler's home as a rule is built for him. He has to live where he is put or where his work lies,—in manufacturing colonies, in city tenements. He is tenant, not landlord, with surroundings that he can seldom modify, created not to better his condition but to get money from his pocket; and usually he is provided with only the barest necessities of living—four walls, doors, windows, and a flue. Sometimes even the flue is lacking, stovepipes protruding through bricks or weather-boarding or window-panes.

The front door-bell means privacy, family life, household gods, home, as opposed to the common tenement hallway and all its evils. Where the bell stands guard, decency and domesticity may reign. A bay window marks the first departure from the merely needful and useful, the first outreaching for beauty and the ideal. It establishes a standard to live up to. Unmade beds, unswept floors, coarseness, and bad habits are out of keeping with bay windows.

Students of social conditions hear the amateur declare that one plan—his own plan—will eradicate poverty, wipe out slums, or secure industrial reforms. Enthusiasts clamor for prayer-meetings, kindergartens, baths, free concerts, temperance; some want only separate homes for workers, others demand model tenements and universal co-operation. All these plans will help, but from no one of them alone may we expect the reforms predicted,—reforms so huge, indeed so radical, that the foundations of the present social order would be shaken were such quasi-beneficent schemes suddenly successful. We must seek the practicable measure, often foregoing the more desirable. Those who write of "abolishing slums" or "sweeping away tenement

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systems" forget that property must be sacrificed, interests must suffer, decline in values and consequent hardship must precede all such improvements. The mistake was to allow slums and tenement systems to begin. Being now cursed with them, it is wise to end them at least cost, in the safest way, allowing duly for official inertia and property rights.

In correcting tenement abuses, one must not discriminate in favor of the deserving against the undeserving poor. The undeserving, the degraded, even the criminal classes, if ill-housed, create conditions that menace public health. Paying as high rent as the virtuous, they are entitled to sanitary surroundings in return. This is simple justice, whose corollary is that no landlord has a right to let property which is dangerous to occupants. The thief's $10 a month being accepted, he is in equity entitled to $10 worth of sound flooring, dry walls, decent sinks and closets; and that house-owner who, in spite of protests and appeals for repairs, lets a rotting, infected dwelling, filches another man's rights. Landlords and agents are quick to excuse their own delinquencies in stock phrase: "It's not worth while fixing up for these destructive people." Fifty per cent of tenants are *not* destructive and the other 50 per cent could be cajoled or bullied into systematic neatness. Many tenements are dirty for lack of facilities, such as sinks on upper floors, garbage-boxes, ash-shoots, janitors to sweep halls and stairways. And I have observed that the filthiest apartment on the premises often belongs to the "housekeeper" whom agent or landlord takes no pains to select or to bring up to better standards.

All over the Union, in the vilest rookeries little homes may be found that are ideally clean and dainty, so far as poor resources allow. Crucial test of good housekeeping, the beds are sometimes exquisite in make and draperies; coarse or patched these may be, bits of mismatched lace or embroidery, but clean and disposed artistically. The efforts at ornament and decoration, even over paper hanging in strips from mouldy walls, are pathetic. Pictures of every kind are prized, cheap lithographs, bill-posters, portraits of circus performers and cigarette girls, which are companioned by bleeding hearts, saints, angels, and heads of Christ. Among Roman Catholics, shrines occupy part of the already narrow space in many rooms—altars draped in white, hung with tinsel and flowers, and adorned with every scrap of color the family can obtain, a "holy of holies" to which the best of these toilsome lives is brought in worship.

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Nobody can visit tenement dwellers without being struck as much by their hopeful capabilities as by the degrading nature of their usual surroundings, a degradation for which the occupants are often not to blame. In the worst districts, a well-managed house is frequently an object-lesson amid the adjacent filth. The rules governing it are in the line of strict business results, keeping the property sound, increasing its commercial value, and all in the interest of sanitation and decent living. Only short-sighted, unscrupulous proprietors allow tenements to go to ruin while collecting high rents; because the buildings soon become so bad that repairs avail nothing and only razing them will answer. Some of the worst barracks are owned by ignorant, irresponsible landlords, often by foreigners. In New England French Canadians invest largely in property of this class, and in New York the Italians are buying it up rapidly. A forewoman in a big flower factory said that she meant to put her savings into a half interest in a tenement paying 26 per cent. The big lodging-houses in New York for men are, in a few instances, made to yield from 50 to 80 per cent; and the manager of one assured me that investments of this kind are often held by great estates. The expense for outfit is small, the risks nominal, the income and profits almost certain. In Philadelphia, some of the worst hovels pay more than 40 per cent on the investment; and in Boston, official inquiry shows that the returns on the assessed value of such property reach occasionally 49 per cent.

Apart from sentiment, sympathy, and higher ethics, proper home surroundings for wage-earners are of vital importance because the health of a nation is its wealth. If the mass of the people must live in a way which interferes with physical strength and soundness, the productivity and commercial value of labor are lessened. Moreover, the cost alone of supporting hospitals and public institutions for the blind, deaf, and dumb, who are victims of scarlet fever and measles, would abate almost every tenement nuisance which causes these scourges. Not the indigent unfortunate classes only are benefited by a good *milieu*. The interests of society at large demand the betterment of the unhealthful, dangerous surroundings in which the deserving poor of great cities dwell. Acquaintance with the laws of sanitation does not fall like manna from the skies. It is not an intuition or sixth sense. So-called filth diseases—cholera, typhus, diphtheria, scarlet and yellow fevers,—being independent of contact or residence in the district infected, often do their deadliest harm at a distance from their breeding-place; and by a strange irony of fate, the occu-

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pants of unsanitary tenements, through decreased susceptibility to virus, escape these epidemics while citizens in cleaner quarters are stricken. Where germs abound, the percentage of scarlet fever and diphtheria cases may be low, owing to the superior hardihood of the immigrant working classes; and coarse-fibred Poles and sturdy Hebrews are immune where children of the leisure class, more delicately organized, die outright, or live bereft of sight and hearing from disease brought by clothes from some tenement laundry, or by servants as they go and come from their own homes.

All things considered, are our thickly peopled tenement quarters better than the slums of foreign cities? Whitechapel's blackest district consists of low houses of two or three floors, windowed usually back and front, or looking on dark courts with a gutter down the middle and grimy structures on either hand; and nowhere in "Darkest England" can that famous New York block, called "Sing Sing" on one street and "The Penitentiary" on the other,—wherein dwell nearly 4,000 souls,—be matched for density. Again, the population of the British capital is largely English. Its dirt is native dirt, while ours is of a mixed variety compounded of the liveliest foreign germs. Even in Naples where crowding and pauperism are almost oriental, life is passed in the open air and filth becomes in a way innocuous because so thoroughly oxygenized. Because of our severe climate children under five years—the age when death mows fastest—are banished for six months from street and alley to the foul winter air of tenements where all the family life goes on. In Italy, the poorest beggar may cook his food, wash his rags, sun himself, and sleep under the blue canopy of heaven; whereas our city workers, our dependent and defective classes, are massed in 10 by 12 dark cuddy-holes where even in summer a stove blazes always, the babies gasping for breath and the tired wage-earners panting till daybreak at the sill of one narrow window, sleep banished by the scorching heat.

We have, it is true, less poverty than exists abroad; our workers are busier and earn more than foreign labor; drainage and sewage are better, the habits of our people are less filthy. The rapid growth, migration, and movement of our cities, however, crowd the sluggish and weaker portion of our population into more congested conditions than those in which the like portion of less mobile European cities live. The worse are therefore worse off here, and are in grave danger of infecting the mass, though the average cubic contents of the house and the average meal for the general mass are higher here than in Europe.

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In no European city that I have visited is the big tenement as a type of dwelling so largely used, so indefensible in its construction, and so death-begetting, as it has become in many of our greatest centres in consequence of this congestion.

In all our growing cities the most dangerous form of tenement is multiplying—buildings once devoted to business or residence purposes, now packed with foreigners not yet educated to our standards. Drainage and water-supply are inadequate, closets are clogged, partitions create dark rooms where human beings were never meant to sleep, and in each tiny space dwell from two to ten persons, carrying on all the functions of life. This tenement evil, like *Sindbad's* "old-man-of-the-sea," bestrides our urban development, not to be strangled or shaken off, and costing more to maintain and regulate than in the beginning it might have cost to erect whole districts of model working men's homes. In Pittsburgh, lately, the manufacturers declared that there are no slums, pointing with just pride to the suburbs of neat, attractive houses of skilled iron-workers. No slums? What are the shanties creeping up the picturesque hills, draining to those below? The dirty brick rows backing into cliff or rolling-mill and fronting on a network of railroad tracks? How many of these dwellings are supplied with water? Comparatively few, a single hydrant in one yard serving many families. Typhoid fever is alarmingly prevalent in Pittsburgh, and the water of Allegheny, its officials claim, is poison. How many houses have sewer connections? The director of public works answers: "In two hundred and thirty-nine cases of fever investigated, there was no public sewer connection at all in twenty-six houses; in eighty-five, the connection was with outside closet only; and in but forty-one cases were sewer connections properly made." In one Pittsburgh tenement row, crowded with Poles, three cellars are used as dwellings, although flooded with water several times a winter; nor are cellar sleeping rooms infrequent in other quarters.

These Poles, badly lodged, are thrifty, responsive to teaching, appreciating good influences. Thousands of them in Cleveland where conditions are favorable own good homes, and they are large property holders in Buffalo,—that beautiful city of detached residences where, its citizens affirmed, neither indigence nor a tenement class existed. Yet, four years ago, a committee of the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo reported a tenement population there of 9,148 souls, more overcrowded than New York,—less than 50 per cent of the houses being sanitary, and some of the remainder in the foulest condition. The

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average sleeping room in the district investigated is 8 by 7 ft., occupied in 30 per cent of cases by five or more persons; in 25 per cent, by more than five persons, one chamber having fourteen inmates. Happily Buffalo at once adopted stringent repressive measures, for another committee, consisting of a physician, a lawyer, and an architect, studied the improved dwellings of Boston and New York and the best building laws, and finally submitted to the city building inspector a complete and admirable set of ordinances regulating tenements and their future construction. After a hard fight, these ordinances were adopted by the city council. If enforced, the culture-beds of crime and disease already existing will be condemned, or purged of dangerous features. The worst tenement I ever saw was in Buffalo—an immense Augean stable in which, notwithstanding its unspeakable filth, the Free Kindergarten Association had cleaned one little corner and begun to work. The next worst tenement I know is in Cincinnati, its only entrance being a saloon of the lowest character.

Baltimore possesses not a single properly built tenement, and, fortunately, few of any kind as yet, except the converted business blocks, so inconvenient and dangerous, or old disused residences with large rooms too costly for man and wife alone and therefore shared with other adults. Otherwise, accommodations for the worker are cheaper and better in Baltimore than in any city elsewhere of corresponding size.

Boston in her old converted dwellings, now let to the laboring classes, reaches a refinement of inconvenience that I have never observed elsewhere. Three tenants, we will say, occupy one house,—not, as might be supposed, a family to each floor, for that arrangement the landlord considers a losing one, top floors bringing little rental. So he hires to one household the back kitchen, the front first-floor room, and the rear garret chamber; to another family, the front kitchen and back first and second floor; to a third he gives the front second floor, side room, and first-floor hall. Every family lives in patches and spots, no two rooms adjoining so as to save labor and steps or economize heat, each housewife trotting from basement to attic, and, worse than all, her girls sleeping in the next garret to other tenants' boys, all far removed from the mother's eye. More than 88,000 persons in Boston reside in houses containing three families, often in fair circumstances; while in 8,000 dwellings from eleven to fifteen persons live, and some big structures include forty-seven tenements.

Tenements in Chicago are not yet so elevated as those in New York and Boston. At the present rate of erecting "sky-scrapers,"

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grand structures reared in Chicago to-day with eighteen and twenty floors will in their decadence a few generations hence become tenement rookeries. As business shifts to newer quarters, the fate even of palaces deserted is to shelter indigence and crime. In Chicago, besides its wretched crowded rows, rear tenements likewise contaminate air and soil, while damp soot and filth add elements of grime and degradation from which the hitherto refuse-choked streets of New York are free.

Whenever I visit the workers' quarter of New Orleans, I am for the time a devout believer in a special Providence, no other theory accounting for the continuance of human life amid such apparently pestilential drains. Nevertheless, the advocates of overground sewage stoutly maintain its superiority to underground systems, supported, too, they claim, by the city's low death-rate. The tendency to convert the noble old dwellings of the French quarter into tenement hives has not proceeded far; and the immigrants being mostly Italians live, like the Creole population, much in the open air. More than one winter have I watched from my balcony between Lamarque and Niel rose-clusters the busy dwellers in neighboring yards and courts cooking over braziers, forging, tinkering, coopering, and shoe-making under oleander and orange trees.

As a step toward reclaiming the small area of slums in its southern portion, Philadelphia recently spent $400,000 in repaving narrow streets and courts. Taxpayers often object to that sort of outlay, and a man in Allegheny complained that all the city's available funds were used to pave alleys that nobody enters. Nobody enters? Mayor Kennedy of Allegheny recently declared that nothing had contributed so remarkably to health and cleanliness as paving those alleys and courts. The women who live there, he said, kept the asphalt as neat as any parlor. They scrubbed their steps and halls to correspond; and their dressing and that of the swarming children had marvellously improved. Now they clamor for door-bells and bay windows!

The new industrial districts of the Quaker City consist entirely of excellent separate houses. Curiously, however, statistics of the occupations of building and loan association shareholders show rather a small proportion of homes owned there by working men, most of whom are tenants, just as Philadelphia working girls are boarders and lodgers chiefly. The big tenement has no real foothold; though in the last two years pioneer barracks have been erected, so bad that public sentiment called for building laws to control the abuse. A few streets of the old district south of Pine are, in respect of dilapidated houses,

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absence of sewer connection, lack of water for domestic use, and the crowding of rear dwellings, almost unrivalled for badness. The worst feature is the rear court, cut up into houses backed by a dead wall, three rooms 10 by 12 ft. perched one above another, the staircase climbing like a ladder inside—a wasteful plan, too, as one stove cannot heat the upper stories; and destructive to privacy, since the upper floors are usually sublet. There can be no window at the side, for another box-house adjoins. Its rear being also solid masonry and its only openings those in the front wall, no air can enter except through the narrow court from two to ten feet wide, sweeping over the vaults that form a *cul-de-sac* at the end. Thus the lung food of all the inhabitants is poisoned. A single hydrant near these vaults supplies water for drinking and domestic use; and in winter this hydrant freezes. The only egress to the street is by means of the gutter that drains the court, running between brick walls of dwellings sometimes but two feet six inches away from these doors; and in this polluted stream women's skirts must draggle, children's feet must soak, except when the current becomes ice. In the line of reform, model structures are proposed on a large scale, to furnish good apartments at less rent than is now paid in the infected slum district for comfortless, rotting abodes. But while rents continue dear all redemptive agencies are ineffectual, in the absence of laws to prevent overcrowding. A young Italian mournfully apologized for living in the attic of a box-house with two other families below. "In Rio Janeiro," she said, "where we staid four years, no more than eight people are permitted in a house so small as this. Here there are seventeen. Had we known what we were coming to, we would have remained in South America."

Improved tenements, the friends of cooperation claim, are forerunners of general cooperative housekeeping that will go far to solve the domestic-servant problem and set free much energy now used up in separate household duties. I incline more to the plan of public-spirited citizens in Philadelphia to buy up wretched houses on the south side, improving some, building better ones on the sites of such as are fit only for demolition, and educating tenants to better living. Miss Hannah Fox shows $5\frac{9}{10}$ per cent annual profit on such an outlay as $12,199; and Miss Hancock, with nine years' experience in redemptive work somewhat like Octavia Hill's in London and Mrs. Lincoln's in Boston, is sure that such a scheme is not only practicable but will prove remunerative to capitalists—quite as much so, I believe, as buying idle suburban lots.

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Washington city, by a much needed ordinance forbidding any domicile to be less than twelve feet wide, and any house to be built on alleys, courts, or streets which are less than thirty feet wide, has secured itself against overcrowding; and probably all shanties located on ten-foot alleys, now nests of crime, disease and immorality, will gradually be condemned and removed.

The word tenement is in such odium from the horror of the thing in parts of New York city, that its old and favorable application to the corporation dwellings of mill towns is overlooked. In many textile centres, the "company houses" for workers alone are good habitations, almost all the overflow from these being lodged in rattle-traps belonging to private individuals and falling to decay from lack of care, their owners perhaps being retired saloon-keepers or ex-working men or, in New England, French Canadians. Such landlords, greedy for gain and lacking public spirit, even in small towns put up tenements of the bad New York kind, holding from six to fifty families; and the type of New England civilization is deteriorating from the inroads of this abuse. Every manufacturing city and village—some heretofore ideally well-built and apparently well-governed—now shows a few blocks, if not enormous districts, of wretchedly constructed unsanitary barracks, one tenement crowding another, sometimes three on a lot; and the municipal authorities, astonishing to say, take no measures to stamp out the practice.

In Fall River,—upbraided in every mood and tense,—the "company houses" depart from the best New England precedent and, with a few notable exceptions, are unpardonably the worst in the city. After studying the town's peculiar growth, I have sympathy with its present tenement-property owners—and would have more, if their dividends were less and their property were better kept. The past policy of mill men there will never be repeated, but its consequences cannot be removed without immense financial loss. "Does anybody suppose we would build great tenement barracks *now?* What are we to do with those we have?" asked a manufacturer. "We can't afford to demolish them, and to repair them properly would keep us poor." A lesson to other textile communities inclined, when operatives are needed quickly in times of industrial prosperity to put up cheap houses without drainage or water-supply. Private enterprise and the savings of working men have wrought vast changes in Fall River, most of the houses lately built being adapted for only one to three families, instead of twelve to fifty families, and always having a bay window. The bay window has done more to create healthy competition and bring the manufacturers to a

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realizing sense of sin against their tenants than any lengthy building ordinances. In pathetic protest against the great comfortless "company" rookeries, the bay window has proved the worker worthy of a better home; and he is getting it whenever the corporations erect new dwellings.

Going from Fall River to Nashua, I could hardly believe my eyes on seeing the "company" tenements there,—rows of good brick houses with private entrances front and rear, a hall for each entrance, and actually a door-bell! Nothing touched my heart and imagination like the door-bells. After the wide-open filthy thresholds of New York and Fall River, those closed doors and individual bells of some New England tenements are idyllic. They stand for the sweet reserve of family life, reposeful days and peaceful evenings when the schoolgirl is busy at her lessons and the mother lays the cloth and rocks baby's cradle. In front of the houses are flowers—not tin cans, dead cats, and garbage,—flower-beds tended by the corporation gardener; and on the lawn the operatives play croquet after hours, while their wives in fresh afternoon gowns knit or sew. Homes as peaceful, conditions as good save in one respect,—the earlier age at which children are employed,—mark the cotton settlements near Baltimore and on the Patapsco River; and these have also what I consider a third means of saving grace,—large vegetable gardens for every family.

In Manchester, New Hampshire, better brick tenements appear in tree-embowered yards, some new with modern conveniences, built on improved plans and renting at low rates. The Amoskeag corporation, to prevent overcrowding, contracts in selling lots that only one residence shall stand on the premises. Here, as in Lowell where excellent corporation dwellings are the rule, painful contrasts exist; for the number of company houses being insufficient, colonies of operatives live in newly-built enormous "double-deckers" holding sometimes fifty families, in quarters unsewered and undrained, called "little Canada"—"little Canadas" reappearing in every town.

Nor are these barracks in any way equipped for such teeming life; and land being cheap, they have no justification for cumbering the earth. Model tenements—which these are not,—tenements constructed by the Improved Dwellings Association in Boston and New York, combine many advantages of the best cooperative living, all having adequate drainage, water, sinks, closets, coal cellars, laundries, and ventilation adapted to the needs of many households.

Does it pay financially to better the housing and surroundings of

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the poor? The Astral, the Riverside, the Improved Dwellings Association properties, all yield 5 and 6 per cent. Other than money values, of course, are obtained—elevation of character, increased labor efficiency, less tendency to roam. As mill-owners have most to gain from steady, contented workers—since skilled labor is not easily replaced,—it is to factory towns we look for improved industrial settlements as in Graniteville and Pelzer, South Carolina, parts of Augusta and Athens, Georgia, and here and there in many northern States. At Lowell the operatives accept slightly lower wages than in competing centres, because admirable homes are furnished at minimum rates; and the corporations have long supported a hospital, library, and club for men and women. It is significant that strikes rarely occur there.

That substantial profit may be reaped from model manufacturing colonies, apart from any motives of humanity, is proved by the experience of two large establishments little known to writers on these subjects. At Cumberland Mills, Maine, the S. D. Warren Paper Company has founded a flourishing industrial town. The policy adopted has made the surrounding land valuable. All the separate homes for the workers are tasteful and commodious, the cottages containing from four to eight rooms, with gardens and conveniences, and situated on streets laid out with a view to variety and beauty. Rents range from $6 to $14 a month. A fine library building, well-filled and receiving constant additions, is the centre for reading clubs and lectures. Athletic grounds have been set apart for the public recreation; but, not to endanger the self-respect of the community by giving too much, Mr. Warren only *helped* to build the town hall and church. Nor does the firm create a monopoly of land and real estate. On the contrary, money is lent and lots are sold to encourage civic spirit and ownership of homes, with proper restrictions as to liquor-dealing and overcrowding. Wages are as high as in any paper-mill, and strikes are unknown. The village is noted for good health, good morals, and intelligence. Girls in the rag-sorting rooms are provided with overdress and cap of oilcloth to protect their clothing; and with each toilet-room a screened dressing-room is connected. Both morning and afternoon the press girls who do the heaviest work are relieved for twenty minutes that they may rest—without loss of pay.

The Howland Mills at New Bedford have a site and homes for workers that compare favorably in attraction with many summer resorts. On the shores of the bay the company bought a large tract of land; and knowing that tenement abominations would decrease its value and

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repel improvements, they resolved to build first-rate houses in order that adjoining lots might be in demand. Twenty thousand dollars were spent on a system of scientific sewage. Then, laying out curved roadways and reserving recreation and park spaces, they erected pretty two-story cottages of original design, with conveniences and labor-saving devices suggested, it is needless to add, by a woman. The boarding home for single men and women can be kept distinct for the sexes at will, but is fitted with smoking- and music-rooms, and contains a co-operative dining-room which the cottagers may share in times of domestic upheaval. One enormous mill was completed, a second was under way, equipped to make finer numbers of yarn than were ever before spun in America. Cleanliness is all-important for this product. "It will pay us," decided Mr. Wm. D. Howland, "to have bath-rooms in our cottages and do away with dirty fingers." So baths were put in, sometimes diverted by the tenants from their proper uses, it is true; for one man stored coal in his tub, another salted down pork in his, and a thrifty mother put the twins to bed in hers; but standards of neatness are higher. Each house has a garden-plot, and rents on an average at $10 a month for six and eight rooms. A library and other improvements are to follow, and adjoining real estate has risen in price.

In the light of such successful experiments it cannot be denied that beauty brought into the homes of the people, and sanitation secured for thousands of operatives, pay. Economically possible, this is also morally important. To shirk responsibility for the evils at our door on the false plea that, because American wage-earners are prosperous, those who suffer and are ill-housed are the left-over and undeserving, benumbs the public conscience. Wherever a group of people live neglected, in want and squalor, their misery lowers the whole social level. Impaired vitality, relaxed moral and religious standards, ignorance and crime, result. If the well-being of one redounds to the welfare of all, the wretchedness of some becomes the care of all; and the relation of landlord and tenant, of neighbor, of citizen, to be effective must be socialized and, better still, Christianized in the spirit of "whatever ye would do that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

CLARE DE GRAFFENRIED.

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CULTIVATION OF VACANT CITY LOTS.

THEORETICALLY speaking, organized charity aims to assist the able-bodied poor by providing some simple form of productive employment. The factors of production are land, labor, and capital. Charity is able to organize and direct the labor of the unemployed; it is not able to furnish capital, except a limited amount, or land. But although the abolition of involuntary idleness through the instrumentality of charity must remain an unattainable ideal, nevertheless some measure of practical relief may be offered the unemployed in urban communities through the cooperation of owners of unimproved city land.

In the summer of 1894, when great numbers of working people were in idleness in consequence of the general depression in business, Mayor H. S. Pingree of Detroit put into operation a novel plan of relief. He obtained the loan of a quantity of unimproved land in the outskirts of the city, which, after being ploughed and harrowed, was distributed in convenient plots among the unemployed. The plot-holders, who were supplied also with seed, implements, and fertilizers, planted, cultivated, and harvested the crops, consisting of vegetables (chiefly potatoes), under the supervision of a committee appointed by the mayor. In this manner more than nine hundred families were given employment during the summer, while the crops which they harvested amply repaid the labor expended. An account of this experiment has been lately published.[1]

The advantages of this mode of relief are apparent. The chief factors in agricultural production are land and labor. In every city there are large quantities of idle land, the loan of which can presumably be had by responsible organizations for the use of charity, particularly as the form of charity in question tends to reduce taxation. Labor is furnished by the poor, and the outlay involved in providing implements, seed, fertilizers, and superintendence is inconsiderable. The ethical effect of this form of charity on the beneficiaries is the reverse of harmful. It does no injury to the feeling of self-respect,

[1] See pamphlet issued by the United States Department of Agriculture under date of March 5, 1895.

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and affords training in a useful occupation. It also has a tendency to relieve the congestion of urban populations by demonstrating to the involuntarily idle that a comfortable living can be obtained in the country from the cultivation of a limited quantity of land.

Mayor Pingree's experiment was repeated in Detroit during the summer of 1895. It was imitated in other cities, including New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Buffalo, Minneapolis, and St. Paul. In no instance, however, were so complete and accurate records of the results made as in New York. These have since been published by the committee in charge of the experiment.[1]

The first in New York city to take an active interest in vacant-lot farming was Mr. Bolton Hall. He secured the cooperation of Mr. N. S. Rosenau of the United Hebrew Charities, Mr. C. D. Kellogg of the Charity Organization Society, and Mr. R. Fulton Cutting of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. Through their influence Mr. Hall's project for vacant-lot farms was laid before the monthly conference of the charities of the city of New York, and before the Federation of East-Side Workers, with the result that on March 10, 1895, a committee of ten members was appointed to carry the project into operation. The committee included, besides Mr. Hall, representatives of the several philanthropic organizations. The committee engaged Mr. J. W. Kjelgaard—a practical farmer—as superintendent, and also two assistants.

There was no dearth of vacant lots in New York city, for, according to the postal census of 1893, there were 17,329 such lots below One Hundred and Forty-fifth Street and the Harlem River. They were, however, found to be scattered over an inconveniently large area of territory, and the committee, from considerations of economy, accepted the use of three compact parcels of land in Long Island City, offered by Mr. William Steinway, Mrs. John Lowry, Mr. H. B. Hollins, and the Long Island Improvement Company. These parcels were known, in the parlance of the committee, as the Ravenswood, the Lowry, and the Wilson farms. The Ravenswood farm was located fifteen minutes' walk from Thirty-fourth Street Ferry; the Lowry, forty minutes' walk from the same ferry; and the Wilson, twenty minutes' walk from the Ninety-second Street Ferry. The farms comprised, according to the report, 138 acres, or 1,656 city lots, of which 109¼ acres were put under cultivation. The land utilized for indi-

[1] See Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, "Notes," December, 1895.

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vidual cultivation was ploughed and harrowed at the expense of the committee.

Applications for land were received through philanthropic organizations in different parts of the city and any one who could show a certificate of good character from some responsible person, church, or society was accepted. Each applicant was required to fill out a blank containing questions as to his color, sex, nationality, age, previous employment, length of residence in the city, experience in farming, etc. If accepted, he was assigned to a plot as convenient to the ferry nearest his home as practicable. His name was inscribed on the boundary stake of his plot, and he was supplied with seed, fertilizer, a hoe, and a spade. No objection was made to his retaining his plot in case he secured employment elsewhere, provided the plot received proper attention. Preference was, of course, given to heads of families. Applications came in very slowly at first, perhaps on account of the project not being sufficiently advertised among the poor, or because it was the subject of some popular mistrust. This was incidental, however, only in the inception of the plan, for, although but 84 plots were assigned to applicants, a great number of requests for land poured in upon the committee before the planting season was over, which ensured an abundance of applicants for the succeeding year. The average plot was six sevenths of an acre, but in case the applicant was extremely poor or had a practical knowledge of farming the assignment was increased. The committee insisted that at least half the land should be planted with potatoes. The rest was planted with peas, beans, cabbages, tomatoes, corn, turnips, carrots, lettuce, onions, and radishes, according to the individual preference of the plotholders. All work was done under the instruction and supervision of the superintendent and his assistants. Instruction, implements, fertilizers, and seed were furnished gratis by the committee.

More than half the plotholders claimed some knowledge of agriculture, but practically all were ignorant of the system of intensive farming. The majority followed instructions, and showed a commendable zeal in the care of their crops. Guard was kept over the farms at night, and no appreciable loss was sustained from petty thieving.

When the crops began to mature each planter was required to report day by day the amount of produce taken from his farm, and in case it was sold, to state the receipts. When no sales were reported the product was appraised according to the current market rates. The highest yield of potatoes—the principal crop—was 412 bushels

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on one acre. On the assigned plots, aggregating 71¼ acres, besides lettuce, onions, radishes, and fodder corn, the following crops were raised: potatoes, 6,235 bu.; peas, 817 bu.; beans, 1,259 bu.; beans for seed, 50 bu.; cabbages, 19,119 heads; tomatoes, 530 crates; corn, 1,000 doz.; turnips, 1,400 bu.; carrots, 93 bu. The total value of the crops on the assigned plots was $8,803.51; the expense incurred by the committee, $3,801.98. The quality of the crops may be inferred from the fact that the exhibit of the Vacant Lot Farms took the second prize at the New York Live Stock Show.

Part of the product was consumed by the planters as it matured, part was stored away for the winter, but a great deal was sold, many of the planters peddling their produce from house to house. One man, on a plot of 8 acres, earned $408; another, on 4 acres, earned $336.20; and still another, on 3½ acres, $216.05. One of the plotholders—a stonecutter—kept a record of his time. He worked 50 hours, and earned $120.25. He was, it is true, assisted by his children, whose labor was not counted. It is to be regretted that a record was not kept of the time each planter gave to his land.

In consequence of the limited number of applicants, the committee near the close of the planting season found that it had 38 acres of unassigned ploughed land. This land was set aside as a cooperative farm in which any plotholder might become a cooperator, and about forty availed themselves of the privilege. Six of these presently secured employment, and left. The cooperators were paid a wage of ten cents an hour, in order to furnish subsistence to such of the plotholders as were destitute. A half interest in the profits of the farm was reserved to the cooperators, who planted, cultivated, and harvested the crops. Although the farm was not started until late in June, the crops, which were disposed of to various charities at market rates, aggregated $1,067.65. The expenses for seed, implements, and labor were $966.75. After deducting this sum, with a further allowance for (suppositional) rent of land, cost of superintendence, and interest, there remained $53 to be divided among the cooperators. The cooperative farm proved a valuable adjunct to the individual farms, as it furnished immediate relief to the destitute, stimulated friendly rivalry, and created a public spirit against trifling which reacted on the general body of individual planters.

The total expenditures of the committee in connection with the cooperative and individual farms—109¼ acres—were $4,821.73. This included cost of superintendence, labor, seed, implements, fertilizers,

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ferriage, cartage, printing, and postage. Of course, no rent was paid either for land or offices. The expenditure was met by popular subscriptions. The total money value of the crops was $9,871.16.

It remains to sum up the information obtainable concerning the people who were directly benefited by the vacant-lot farms. There were 84 plotholders, of whom only one was colored, with 261 persons dependent on them for support. About 11 plotholders were women, and 11, including the colored man, were born in the United States, whether of native or foreign parents is not stated. The rest were of foreign birth, 35 being German, 26 Irish, 3 English, 2 Scotch, 2 French, 2 Swiss, 1 Italian, 1 Swede, and 1 Hungarian. The oldest was 77 years, the youngest 18; the average age was 46 years. Only three were born in New York city; 41 were country-born, and 51 had had some experience in farming. The average length of residence in the city was twelve years. The average length of employment during the preceding year was 3⅓ months. Seven were farmers by occupation, 53 were laborers, 3 painters, 2 bakers, 2 clerks. There were also a janitor, a longshoreman, a stonecutter, a photographer, a cooper, a marine, a salesman, a sawyer, a fireman, a driver, a hatter, a shoemaker, a tailor, an optician, a blacksmith, a grocer, and a carpenter.

Of the 84 plots assigned, the largest was 8 acres, the next largest 4, the smallest a quarter of an acre. The average size was six sevenths of an acre. The largest receipts obtained were $408. Twenty-two plotholders took over $100 each from their individual holdings. The smallest receipts were $5.50. Three plotholders earned nothing at all. The average earnings were $61.08.

What proportion of the vacant-lot farmers are capable of being rendered permanently self-supporting under favorable conditions? The superintendent, Mr. Kjelgaard, claims that 70 per cent are able and willing to work. Their chief deficiency is in the power of initiative. They are incapable of making an effective search for employment outside their wonted occupations or outside the locality in which they happen to live. If furnished with employment, they would prove faithful and efficient workmen. The remaining 30 per cent are either physically incapable of hard labor or confirmed paupers.

MICHAEL A. MIKKELSEN.

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MODERN NORWEGIAN LITERATURE.—I.

THE abominable militarism under which Europe is groaning puts a false measure on her nations. Their own consciousness and the others' respect are made dependent upon how many men and horses they can muster in front of the barracks, and how many war vessels they have in the docks and on the seas. Thus the small nations become demoralized, and the large ones barbarized.

But let us imagine for a moment that the literary names of modern Europe are so many ships,—big and small ones, steamers and sailing-craft,—and that they are crossing the Atlantic, like regular fleets, to visit America. Would not the Americans, upon hearing of it, feel the mind crowded by visions far different and loftier than those any actual war fleet could create? Would not the anticipation also stand ready with a quite new measure of valuation? If Russian literature were reported approaching the coast, would not the Americans while hastening down to the shore think of the miseries of Russia rather than of her greatness, of her martyrs rather than of her conquests, of the ideals of her youth rather than of the might of the Czar?

The sun sets in blood, the waves toss wildly, the heavy ships dip till the spray shoots over the masts, and the smoke-stacks become white with salt; some look as if they had been treated roughly. Many of the vessels are large, some peculiar on account of some new principle of construction, but nearly all, both large ones and smaller, move rather heavily, though carrying huge sheets of canvas, or laboring under intense pressure of steam; the air is woollen with black smoke. Some anxiety, however, mingles with the admiration of the spectators when they look at the blood-red sunset, for it forebodes harder weather to-morrow, and they all know that the fleet must pass on; it has not come for a feast only.

Some days later the spectators stand along the shore in still denser masses, the storm is drifting away, and the sun is breaking forth. The French fleet is coming in—high, slender masts,—yachts without num-

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ber, and among them huge steamers whose smoke-coils are drawn along by the wind and illumined by the sun till they float across the picture like the headlines of a colored sign-board. How graceful the hulks appear, and the more so the nearer they come! How fine the lines, how striking the colors, the whole outfit, the ensemble! Some of the larger vessels stand out from the multitude like herdsmen on horseback in the midst of the flock. Firing of guns, music from bands, dipping of flags in all colors, deafening noise, bewildering variety, and no end to it. But when the surprise of the first moment passed away the variety seemed to play in the minor details rather than in the larger features; the fundamental conception seemed even monotonous. And a still deeper impression was produced by the shocking contrast between the glamour, the beauty, the grandeur of the arrival, and the dismal standard displayed on the topmast of the first ship,—a skull. It was discovered also on the second, the third, the fourth, nay! on closer examination it was discovered that all the ships carried skull and cross-bones in red, white, black, or gold, and good glasses revealed that emblem repeated throughout the whole fleet. The spectators strained their eyes to catch a glimpse of merry France; she certainly was along. Yes, there she came, in bright colors and dancing-music on board. The drums beat the quickest time, the brass instruments blared, clarionets and flutes yodled, there was something oriental in the sound. So that was merry France! All eyes turned to her and beheld a dancing skeleton, scythe in hand, in an attitude more grotesque than that of any can-can dancer. Singular,—thought the spectators, and looked farther out. There at last they saw fine and strong craft, small and big, with the Gallic cock in the standard, sporting the brightest colors, and saluting the new day with exuberant glee. Other standards were also seen, displaying the flower of spring and various dashing symbols. But as her mighty fleet sailed by the main impression it left was, that it carried with it more thoughts about the coffin than about the cradle, that all its precious powers at present stood predominantly in the service of death and destruction.

A general discussion arose among the spectators and it waxed so hot that nobody for a long while thought of the other visitors who might be expected. But when they were told that a number of larger and minor fleets had sailed nearly at the same time, curiosity and the natural betting-mania were awakened as to which would be the next. Most bet on the English, others on the German, some on the Dutch.

Early one morning it was reported that a fleet was sighted, though

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as yet no one could make out its nationality. Immediately all went down to the shore, the heaviest bettors foremost. Snow had fallen during the night; now it was clearing, but it was cold. Just in front, where the sun cut the last snow-mist, a light smoke was seen, then masts became visible, then some big hulks with a row of minor ones behind them, and farther off again some big ships announcing more to come. But over the whole floated an aerial image,—a phantom ship with dazzling sails and bright flags, and larger than any of the ships of the fleet. Was it the guardian spirit of the fleet? And whose was the fleet coming in that style?

All the bettors lost. The fleet was neither German nor English. It came from one of the smallest nations of the world, but one from whose people sprung Europe's oldest aristocracies and whose marvellously beautiful country has become a permanent world's-exhibition for travelers. It was the Norwegian fleet, and it came with a rush. Something firm and compact about every vessel, as if each had an errand of its own. Not a single pleasure craft in the whole fleet. No movement outside the course. With one single exception no elegance in hull and rigging, but a solid reliability. Each ship looked a realm by itself. They came together, because they could not but do so, but each of them in its own manner. The day became perfectly clear as they drew nearer, but the air was rather cold. Nearly all those vessels were light in color. The hulls, the sails, the smoke-stacks might show different tints, but the total impression was lightsome. They looked like men coming with flags on snowshoes from the land of the midsummer night's sun, where the sea speaks in its lowest notes and the frost keeps the mind clean and clear. A striking disparity was presented by some vessels,—dark with light stripes, or light with dark stripes. The dark stripe ran along the hull and smoke-stack, and appeared again in the sails and everything loose aboard. All these vessels were large and strong.

As far back as the national Saga reaches, the dark stripe follows. It cuts—let me say—every tenth leaf of the history of the people, sometimes every third, and at certain periods all. It is sure that here originally were two peoples, grappling with each other as two very strong contrasts of temperaments must do. It is supposed that Norway was settled at two different periods with a long interval; that the first people sat down, under rather hard conditions, on the spots free of ice along the coast, and that the second people did not enter until the

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vast forests had made it snug in the valleys. However that may be, here is a bright society-building people, with faith in the powers of life, and here is a strong individualistic protest which sees only, or likes best to see, how man is dwarfed by custom and law till he rises in defiance. All people contain contrasts. Howsoever society is built, it will always do harm to some and they will protest. But in Norway the protest is and always has been stronger than anywhere else, because it was bred from the national elements rather than from the social development.

When the great state-builder, Harald Haarfager, united Norway, many fought against him to the last. They did not submit; they went away to Scotland, Ireland, Normandy, Iceland, Greenland; they discovered America. The grand type among them was Eigil Skallagrimson, scald and viking, a crafty warrior, revengeful, jeering at everything he wanted to ruin, but groaning from loneliness in the very depth of his heart. He made himself an exile, but enough of those belonging to the same type remained behind in Norway. They became mixed up with the others and their dark skin reappeared everywhere; once they brought the people to the very verge of ruin, because circumstances afforded them too wide a range. The full swing of those two contrasts gives soundness; only thus vigilant liberty is won. But they cannot be smoothed down completely until a form of society has been settled in which the whole has ceased to be a hindrance to the growth of the individual, that is to say: never. Only the lightsome element must be in large and happy majority in order that the national ideal shall not be hurt. And just here our literature gives its weighty evidence. The tone of the temperament—or what shall I call that total impression in which all the fixed points of the whole view melt together?—of our literature is lightsome, and so with all those whom in course of time the people have designated as their representative men. Eigil Skallagrimson was not the choice of the people, nor has any of his stock been to this very day. His type stands among the chosen of the people as one to ten, nay, as one to twenty. Harald Haarfager, the founder of the realm,—indeed all the kings of Norway,—were tall, lightsome men. So was the chieftain, Einar Tambeskjelve, the true representative of Tröndelagen, and how beloved and admired were those men!

Later on Peter Wessel, the hero of the sea, always ready for a storm, became the idol of the people; whole works of the comic poet, Ludvig Holberg, the peer of Molière, and a humorous master-

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builder breaking old ground for new ideas, were known by heart, as, for instance "Peder Paars." In northern Norway people learned by heart the songs of the minister, Peder Dass, properly Dundas, of Scotch stock. He was one of the brightest writers in the world's literature, though he lived in the winter darkness of the Nordlands and had the sombre Atlantic for his neighbor. The brightness of his nature became like a top-sail added to the boat of the people, and the person himself they transformed into a mythical character fighting the devil, but always having the upper hand.

The most popular man in recent times, and perhaps the grandest representative of the people, was again a poet,—Henrik Wergeland, a little younger than Shelley and Byron. He is one of the greatest lyrics of the world, but in a language so little known as ours his fame is an eagle tethered to the rock. But to all who learn that language in order to reach its modern literature,—the first thing visible is his white sails and over them the fluttering flag. He is the bright tutelary spirit of the new Norwegian poetry as he is that of the people. He dreamt all the dreams of our young liberty. What of hope is in it took its first shape from him; he prophesied about it; he blessed it. He also first drew up the landscape which we others have gone farther into.

If a people living under hard natural conditions, which have to be conquered anew every year, be not possessed of the courage of the conqueror, and cannot send forth messages of sound and strong faith in life, that people will not shine forth. Now if modern Norwegian literature has lately sent forth messages which do not look sound, it must be remembered that with the minor ones, it is contagion contracted from without, and with him, the great one, whom you all know, it is hardly disease but a medicine,—the protest of an indignant mind which has fallen in love with homœopathic cures. On the whole our literature is sound and glad. Even the latest ones now coming in, and of such significance that there is reason to expect many behind them,—since a literary period never closes with writers of real importance,—even the latest ones are sound as a bell.

And what with a wrong name is called "folk-lore"—wrong, because folk-stories, folk-songs, folk-airs, are certainly as individual in invention and form as any other kind of art—how happy, by its manly equipoise, is not the Norwegian folk-lore in spite of its startling peculiarities! Some of those stories seem to take us into the dense forest among mocking echoes from the life outside. Others show us the trolls tobogganing down the highest peaks of Norway. In some we

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feel human souls hovering homeless above the reefs; in others, memories of an always sunlit land flit before the reader, but in none do we meet with sentimentalism, despondency, disconsolateness. Here is no horror of life which cannot be subdued; even the devil of those stories is a silly dupe, and in them grief vanishes like dew in sunshine. In the folk-airs the same wholesome coolness reappears, and when some speak of their gloom, I know not what is meant. Seriousness crystallized into art is not gloom—except to those who avoid the duties of life and give to their art that imprint.

The Norwegian people have never been under the yoke, and that is perhaps the reason why every genuine message from them during the course of time has been so hale. Only poverty and pietism have ever left traces of disease among them, and in both cases, but especially in the latter, their literature has proven a good physician. It is a fact that in Norwegian literature and art the bright-builders hold the front rank, and so it must be in every sound people. The dark defiance, the gnawing doubt, the venomous scorn must not be allowed to play the master. The strong individualistic uprising against law and custom ceases to be a beneficent regulator when it is not in the minority. But, as yet, flame-bearded Thor is dominant among the gods in Norway.

Two strong complaints are often heard against Norwegian literature. We are told, not only by people of Roman stock, with whom the difference of race may cause some difficulty, but also by people of our own kin, that it is not clear, that it is "misty." But do people suppose there are mists in a mountain-land? Mist comes from the sea and the lakes; lowlands have mist, but the mountains bar it off and keep the weather clear. In lowlands the imagination is richer in colors and shadows, and has more daring, though more uncertain,—almost adventurous,—conceptions; in mountain-lands it is clearer and narrower. The power of the mountaineer's imagination is not its compass but its intensity. His art characterizes more strongly. By characterization, I do not think of the endless crowd of details which often are only another kind of mist, but, generally speaking, a power to put the figure in the landscape and the landscape in the figure,—which is of decisive importance for the representation both of races and men. In this respect, I believe that no other literature at present surpasses the Norwegian. Take for instance the reefs and disharmonic rock-mosses of the Norwegian Westland, the vicious squalls of the fjords, the sharp light-shafts through the clouds, the glamour of the sun over the sea or the glaciers and snow peaks, the sultry stillness, the fabu-

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lous hurricane—each of them and all together stand now in Norwegian literature as human characters and human destinies. But, to realize that, a partially new artistic form was demanded, and a new form demands—to a certain degree—a new reader. An oversated and overtired daily reviewer does not get through with such things without leaving one half behind him as mist, and that deficit the literature has to pay for.

The complaint would have been just if confined to the simple circumstance that not all Norwegian poets have reached the artistic perfection of the great centres of civilization—a perfection which, on those who are used to it, often has the same effect as a dewy pane. But when it is addressed, for instance, to Henrik Ibsen, whose composition always follows straight lines, and whose execution never falters, the reason must be that here is something new which demands a second perusal. It is true that he often produces an artificial darkness, not unlike that which spiritualistic media want for their spirits, and we may be excused for not liking that manner of introducing spirits. But to put down an artistically-intended obscurity as a lack of clearness in the poet, is a misunderstanding which depends solely on a lack of clearness in the reader.

Another complaint is made against the originality of modern Norwegian literature. When reading certain French critics, one would think that there exists only one creative people, namely, the French; that the Renaissance did not originate in Italy nor the Reformation in Germany, but both in France; that it was France and not England which brought the constitutional system into the world; that the Dutchmen's fight for their liberty ended victoriously only because the Protestants had succeeded in France; that Mirabeau was older than Cromwell, and that the rights of man were proclaimed first at Versailles, and afterward in Philadelphia; that Shakespeare owes to Corneille all that he is, as does Goethe to Victor Hugo, and that Henrik Ibsen was born of the French drama, which now imitates him.

That which brought Europe and America to look at Norwegian literature was, first, its cleanliness and primitive poesy; afterward, its wealth of ideas and their powerful form. There is no stronger proof that a people is going to produce something primitive—to create—than a remodelling of the language, because in its existing form it has not room enough. That was just what took place in Norway between 1860 and 1870, and from those days I reckon the modern Norwegian literature. The language hitherto used, common to Denmark and Norway, was bent and burst through like an old river-bed by a

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new flood. The sentences adopted another, shorter, and firmer gait than that which suited our neighbors in the lowlands, and a crowd of old Norwegian words which had lived in exile in every-day speech rose and definitely took their places in elegant parlance. The language became at once both stronger and sweeter. But there were people who did not feel satisfied with this natural evolution. They wanted to break off altogether from the Danish language. They wanted to introduce the tongue of the Norwegian peasants, such as it was when spoken by all before and for some time after the union with Denmark, but which was now split up into various dialects. From those dialects they undertook to restore the original tongue and began to write in it—without regard to the language which had become current throughout the whole country and without regard to the free intercommunication with the Danes, which is a most invaluable boon, since they are one of the most civilized peoples on earth. The dark stripe again!

With the new tongue followed two new poets, whose primitive sweetness reminds one of the strong aroma of berries and flowers from mountain-tracts. So far, there can be no doubt. But the language did not reach farther than to the idyl, the graphic picture of nature, the melodious mood of nature. True it had another string,—for scoff and scorn,—but only such scoff and scorn as rise in the kitchen against the parlor. Those strings sang and growled, wept and raved in Aasmund Olavson Vinje, a poet of striking originality, born a peasant, with great imagination, but of weak character. His mind was impressible from all sides, and the impressions were very strong. In his poems they produced a melody which belongs among the sweetest and fullest in all Norwegian poetry. But the dark stripe runs through most of what he wrote, though hatred and scorn and envy by no means made up the larger part of him. That which was strongest in him was a sweet child who loved to be loved and was fascinated by everything beautiful and grand, especially when it also glittered. The details of his life I cannot give, as he was thrown from one thing to another, always restless, sometimes unhappy, but sometimes also happy,—happy as nobody else. He had a foreboding of his death, but kept silent; went into the country to hide, said nothing there either, but shut himself up in his room and waited alone for the good comrade. And the good comrade came quietly as he was wanted to do. The same is told of wild animals when they feel death approaching: they retire to be alone with their pains. Where he died we have raised a column and on its top placed his bust, with one eye larger than the other, as I

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remember him—the one eye radiant with a vision and moist with enthusiasm, the other holding back in doubt, ready for laughter and scorn. To his poems Edvard Grieg has composed some of his most beautiful airs. The hymn to "The Mother," the exclamation at seeing the towering rock-ranges again, the farewell to spring, have lured forth tones as beautiful as the words; and, thus transfigured by music, we will remember him.

Ivar Aasen is the name of that treasure-digger who hunted up and repolished all the coins of the old tongue, otherwise left unheeded among the peasantry. On that work he spent his life quietly and faithfully, now and then humming a little song, a patriotic hymn, a mood of nature, a rule of wisdom;—all so deeply felt and so naturally rendered that they might have led a whole literature astray by tempting it to imbed every impression in a piece of smithing work of ten years' labor, whereby the whole art of the people would have come to consist of a few wonderful pieces in the world's museum. For what would be the result if each generation had no more pictures of its own diversified life, and, consequently, no more help from its literature and art, than what might be derived from those very few works which pass into history? From these two poets, Vinje and Aasen, who appeared together with it, the new Norwegian tongue received several immortal songs; but later on?—so far as I understand matters, not one. Beautiful things were still added, finely felt and finely formed, but of less consequence. I am inclined to say that up to date these two are the only primitive original poets in that tongue, the so-called "Landsmål."

Our more recent literature is rich in artistic imitations. Occupation with a new tongue is always an involuntary exercise of the artistic sense, and with one single writer that exercise has led to mastership. But that is all, while at the same time the other branch of the language has produced one poet after the other whose works have treated every subject between heaven and earth. Even their latest representations of peasant life are more significant,—sprung from a deeper conception,—than those of the same period written in the peasant tongue; the descriptions of nature are grander and the feeling for nature is richer. We will pass on to examine them.

The oldest of them is Henrik Ibsen. Already in the first work—which is characteristic of him and of consequence to us—he showed his colors. It was the drama "Katilina," in which he wholly sided with the revolutionary spirit. Then followed in grand procession *Brynhild's* defiance in "Hermændene," *Duke Skule's* in the drama with

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the same name; then "Brand" who forsook society and even his own self and ended in the clouds; then "Peer Gynt" who made the same voyage in an opposite direction; then the "Kejser og Galilæer" ("Emperor and Galilean"), and between these dramas, as a kind of arabesque, a couple of others sneering at marriage and political parties. Finally appeared the grand series of social dramas to which the preceding productions had served as introduction and preparation. But here is a peculiarity. The first and last bend toward each other in a milder mood, while in those lying between, the poet's heart, as it formerly was with *Katilina*, *Brynhild*, *Duke Skule*, *Brand*, *the Kejser*, so it is here with *Nora*, *Dr. Stockman*, *Mrs. Alvig*—the murderess and suicide in "Rosmersholm"; *Hedda Gabler*, also murderess and suicide, and the sensually unsettled *Hilda;* or with *Ekkdal*, because he suffers from those who are socially powerful, and generally with those who are lost or cast off;—altogether overwhelming representations in which a powerful mind stirred up to its very depths hurls the protest of independence against the jog-trot morals of the time. Incidentally this violent criticism, with its revolutionary individualism, fell together with socialism, collectivism, and nihilism on one side, and on the other side with the hard-handed *imperium* of militarism and the audacious reactionary attempts under its cover; together, also, with the casual upheaval of the Naturalists.

This literature made a sensation in steadily widening circles the world over. It sharpened the feeling of responsibility among generous people; the labor movement, the emancipation of women, the peace question, took aid from it, and literature and art found new tasks. Little by little, however, true ethical culture gathered together in decisive opposition to its exaggerations, which lured on to still greater extravagances. For it cannot be denied that its crude individualism, to which Ibsen later tried to find the proper counterpoise, produced, in connection with other elements, the unheard-of savagery of anarchism, a sensual intoxication among young people, the scepticism of the decadence with respect to liberty and labor, the flight from reality and science into a religious mysticism, Nietzsche's "over soul," and the hysterical rattling with "greatness" and "grandeur" which has done more evil than that of the mere suffering to our ears.

It would be easy enough to point out those wrongs in the spiritual life of Norway which first excited Ibsen's wrath—and not only this, but the stagnation in mediocrity and mere tradition, the hypocrisy, the arid passion for petty criticism, the heaviness of a small society with-

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out motion. All these things are shown up sufficiently in his own writings, and I shall prefer to say a few words about his art. For when all the billows and eddies of the uproarious sea have passed over us, the art in most of his works will bear them up and place them among the marvels.

The very evidence of that art is the *réplique*—such as it is—prepared far off in the temperament and the events, and fitted to the surroundings and the temperature of the present moment. As the result of the whole composition it rises in a radiant line and bursts in the color-splendor of the idea. I should like to know who in the world's literature is his equal in this respect? Who has ever succeeded so completely in concentrating all the effects of the drama in the speech? No dead points, not a single superfluous word; everything centring in the *réplique*. In merely mechanical technique others may have reached as far as he, but he works in the severe service of the spirit.

His mastership as an artist becomes still greater when it is noticed that many of his subjects are not by themselves dramatic, but rather epic, novels. In a decisive moment the characters simply speak of themselves to each other, and the threads of their lives are laid bare by what they say. Thus nearly the whole dramatic effect is reduced to our interest in getting to know him who speaks and him who listens; but that is only possible as the story goes on, now and then interrupted by an event which carries it farther in another manner. Really we are present at a kind of cross-examination, but the issue is not *how* he got her or *why* he did not get her. The issue is about life and death, and that gives every word such an importance that we are afraid of missing the finest shading in the expression.

In such a manner of composition there is, however, something queer, and Ibsen will hardly have many imitators. Furthermore, his generous understanding of those who are miserable, of those also who are criminals, and his hatred of society when it appears as an accessory to misery and crime, lead him to an injustice, nay cruelty, which often makes those cross-examinations and self-explanations painful. Though we need to remember that those who break the laws are often worth more than those who give the verdict, we wish nevertheless to be just also to the latter. They too must be comprehended within the same sympathetic conception, and especially such as suffer by the misconduct of others and are entirely innocent of their own misfortunes. But just them he sometimes treats with scorn; he dwarfs them in order to make the others appear so much the greater.

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It seems to me, and by and by it may be the general opinion, that however penetrating Ibsen's understanding of life may be, it is not equal to his passion and art. The reasoning of the dramatic poet runs principally along psychological lines, but at this point he has not always a sure footing. The construction is always matchless, as in "Et Dukkehjem" ("A Doll's House"). But the foundation upon which it rests is often unsafe, as when *Nora* is supposed not to know what forgery is, though she tells lies, and none need to be shrewder than those who practise that art. The premise from which the plot of "Vildanden" ("The Wild Duck") starts, is, that the young martyr, fourteen years old, believes in her father though he is hardly capable of speaking a truthful word. But it is well-known that children are swifter than any one else to discover whether or not the words of those upon whom they depend are to be trusted. When she was four years old she knew all about her father. Should any one have a doubt, please look a little more closely at the mother. How the amiable professor in "Hedda Gabler," educated by ladies, has happened to carry *Hedda* home as his wife, is as unintelligible as how that lady, charged with dynamite, has become about thirty years old without causing any explosion to safeguard the unwary.

It has touched us all to see the old poet, after so hard a working day and so long an exile, unfurl the Norwegian flag in the last scene of his last drama. Contrary to his custom the scene comes unprepared, a sure token that it is an inspiration. Certainly not without deep emotion he himself took the part of the hero. Generally this has been considered a reconciliation with society, but it is something more. When we grow older, the colors leave us; whiter and whiter our head sinks back into the air, which shall finally dissolve it. So too with our feelings. Their contrasting colors melt away in the infinite; they seek unity. Ibsen has learned how to wait with the expression of a great feeling until it gathers in a symbol. That is the unfurling of the flag.

In the fleet coming in, close by Ibsen's big dark ship, another appears entirely light, shining and resting broadly on the waters. It is Jonas Lie. Of him and some of his contemporaries I shall speak in another paper.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON.

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THE UNAIDED SOLUTION OF THE SOUTHERN RACE PROBLEM.

MUCH has been said and written in the last twelve or fifteen years upon the race problem confronting the South. No solution of it yet proposed has met general acceptance. Perhaps it will be agreed that the discussion of the question thus far has resulted in little beyond securing recognition of its importance as only less than that of slavery itself, of which indeed it is the logical successor. Are we drifting, then, and are we to continue to drift as before the war until danger becomes imminent and critical? How fares it with the patient who has rejected the prescriptions of the social doctors? It is the cheerful thesis of the present contribution to the discussion that all is well; that nature unaided is working a cure; that the problem is already in process of solution by the spontaneous operation of the same fundamental economic law which, under the different conditions of slavery, brought it into existence.

As I take it, the race problem arises out of the unequal distribution of the negro race in the United States. It will certainly be agreed that, if the negroes now within our borders—constituting as they did in 1890 scarcely 12 per cent of our population—were evenly distributed over the country so that in no State or region did they form more than one eighth of its population, we would have no race problem in the sense in which we commonly speak of it as existing now. The presence of the negro as a small and—unaided as he must be by immigration—relatively diminishing minority could not be regarded as an influence to be dreaded in our development, or become a matter of such concern as to be called a problem affecting our national life. We may concede that the negro is inferior in his present development to the white man; we may go farther and concede that he will never become as a race the equal of the white. Granting this, such a minority of negroes would be taken up and borne forward on the resistless tide of our advancing civilization, without being felt as an incubus. It is the presence of an undue proportion of negroes in the southern States that at once gives rise to the race problem and makes it a question be-

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longing peculiarly to the South. The question itself may be fairly stated as follows: Is the presence of the negro in relatively excessive numbers to permanently differentiate the South from the North? Is the South or any portion of it to be dominated industrially, socially, or politically by the negro? Are there to be in the South race-wars, race-riots, or other forms of lawless aggression by one race upon the other?

No true patriot, no friend of the negro, can desire that any of these questions shall be answered affirmatively. Surely no intelligent student of history, no candid observer of existing facts, can doubt the reality of racial differences and the strength of race antagonisms, however he may hold himself superior to their influences. This generation has seen the people of the Pacific Coast—as cosmopolitan, and perhaps as intelligent a population as any in the world—united with practical unanimity to exclude the Mongolian. No patriotic American desires to see within our borders distinct communities even of Germans or Scandinavians. Still less can he desire distinct communities of black men, or communities dominated by black men, as integral parts of the Union. The Union of our patriotic hopes is a Union forever delivered from such divergent influences as grew out of the introduction among us of the African. If the South is to be differentiated by the presence of the negro in relatively excessive numbers, then it will lag behind and become a drag upon the remainder of the Union. If the negro be not the inferior race, his warmest friend must admit that he is at a far lower stage of development. He may have progressed: he may continue to progress in the continuance of present conditions, intermingled with the whites, ruled by them politically, and taking up their standard of living industrially. But nothing is more certain than that race development is a thing of the centuries, if not of the ages. No constitutional amendment or act of Congress could lift the negro up to the white man's level at one step. A separate community of negroes, or a community dominated by them, though speaking our language and under our forms of government, would not uphold American civilization. With the example of Hayti in view and certain aspects of life in our own "black belt,"—where the negroes have been comparatively unsustained by the influence of any considerable number of whites,—it is morally certain that the negroes in such a community would retrograde.

If these views be correct, if the race problem arises and exists for the South alone because of the unequal distribution of the negroes be-

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tween South and North, if the presence of the negro is a menace only when he dominates and determines industrial and social standards,—then obviously the comprehensive consideration of the question must include the distribution of the negroes within the South itself, and if that be unequal, its tendency to become more or less so. These questions have been, I think, too little considered in the discussion hitherto. Yet here especially there exists a misapprehension of facts which needs to be corrected. Is it not true that the popular idea of the South in the North, and in Europe perhaps still more, has been largely founded on the single book which is credited with having done more to precipitate the civil war than anything else,—"Uncle Tom's Cabin"? Is it not true that the conditions therein portrayed belonged only to a limited part of the South, though popularly ascribed to the whole? The conventional southerner certainly is the large planter. The big cotton or sugar plantation, with the spacious mansion of the owner and the many cabins of the negroes, is the accepted type of southern industry. In the popular apprehension the wide and diverse territory covered by the southern States is simply "The South,"—"The Solid South,"—a whole alike in all its parts, over which the negro is uniformly diffused to do the work, while the white man devotes himself to politics and the art of conversation. Does not such a misconception seem incredible—even grotesque—to any one who knows the actual conditions existing in the southern States?

This misconception has not been without the most important practical effects. It is a well-known fact that foreign-born whites are distributed between North and South in an inverse ratio to that of the black populations of the two sections. If one asks the reason at Castle Garden, he is told that the foreign immigrant fears the negro—that he will not willingly compete with negro labor, or come down to the negro level. The assumption is that in the South the negro alone labors; that there is no place for the white immigrant who would work in the fields. And it may be recalled that it was published as one of the "discoveries" of the recent New England investigation into the southern cotton-weaving industry, that the work in the mills is done by native whites, and that the factory operatives are not as such held in dishonor. Is it not even true also that the South has misconceived itself in a measure, and that because it fought the civil war, as a loosely united whole, and for nearly a generation afterward held to a single political party—it has mistakenly supposed itself homogeneous? Has it not been with something of the shock of surprise that we have been

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lately reminded, by the passing of "The Solid South" and the rise of the Populist to power among us on lines of cleavage distinctly sectional, that we are not all alike south of Mason and Dixon's line—that the South has always been divided within itself, presenting the very sharpest contrasts in the character and in the industrial and social organization of its people—that in every southern State, indeed, the institution of slavery made between sections differences the same in kind and little less in degree than those that distinguish South from North? Have we always remembered that in much the greater portion of southern territory the negro has remained an insignificant element of the population, and have we been aware that over large areas he is actually diminishing and already disappearing from the soil?

The official census, while giving the distribution and contrasting the relative growth of whites and blacks, in its discussion of results deals only with States and groups of States. The deduction, thus drawn, of a race movement of the blacks,—"slightly south but in much greater degree west"—while true, is not the whole truth, and may even be termed misleading. The census returns also give the distribution of the two races by counties, and the county may be made the geographical unit. Ten years ago, from the figures of the census of 1880, I calculated the percentage of blacks to total population and the respective rates of increase of whites and blacks for the preceding decade in every county of the southern States, entering the results as to distribution upon a large county map by putting down in black ink the black percentage of the population over counties where the blacks were in the majority and in like manner indicating white majorities in red ink. I have recently done the same with the returns of the census of 1890. The results as they are presented on the map before me are striking to the eye. "The Solid South" falls apart into six decidedly distinct regions—three black and three red. Delaware, Maryland (excepting three counties), the western three fifths of Virginia, all of West Virginia and Kentucky, Tennessee (except three counties in its southwestern corner), something more than the western half of North Carolina, the western sixth of South Carolina, the northern fourth of Georgia, the northern half of Alabama, and the northeastern seventh of Mississippi,—form one solid body of contiguous red, unbroken by a single black majority county. In this vast region, extending from Mason and Dixon's line in a general southwestern direction to Montgomery, Alabama,—a distance of more than seven hundred miles, and with an average width of about four hundred miles,—there lived, in

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1890, 7,055,856 whites and 1,716,097 blacks, the blacks forming 19.56 per cent of the total population, and showing an increase of only 7.93 per cent during the preceding decade against a gain of 19 per cent for the whites. This division includes the mineral districts of the South, and embraces the territory sometimes poetically named "The Land of the Sky." I shall refer to it as the "Upland South."

Bordering it on the south and east and reaching to the coast in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, lies a region I shall distinguish as the "Lowlands." This is black but not unbrokenly so, an irregular fringe of red appearing along the coast line of Virginia, and broadening out in North Carolina, where marked changes have taken place since 1880, while several red spots appear even in South Carolina. In Georgia it is split, sending a narrow strip along the shore line into Florida, while the broader belt turns across the State to its western border, whence, after throwing off a projecting wedge southward into Florida again, of which it covers eleven counties, it continues west and northwest across Alabama to its termination in eastern Mississippi. In this long strip of country, whose average breadth hardly exceeds one hundred miles, there lived, in 1890, 1,820,371 whites and 2,710,767 blacks, the blacks constituting 59.82 per cent of the population. Their rate of increase was substantially the same as in the Upland region—7.90 per cent against a white rate of 13.93 per cent. South of this "black belt," as it is more commonly called in the Gulf States, there appears another unbroken body of white majority counties, which I have designated the "Gulf Coast" region. This covers more than four fifths of Florida, a fourth of both Georgia and Alabama, perhaps a third of Mississippi—where it stretches up along the central watershed of the State to a junction with the Uplands; a fourth of Louisiana, and twenty-five counties of eastern Texas, its western limit being marked by the city of Houston. Its population in 1890 included 1,159,703 whites and 569,656 blacks, the blacks constituting 32.94 per cent. The rates of increase—33.61 per cent for the whites and 28.73 per cent for the blacks—show an immigration of both races.

The second of the black majority districts is almost described by its name—"The Mississippi Bottom." It borders the banks of the great river and its tributaries, forming one strip about one hundred and twenty-five miles in width, extending from just above New Orleans to Memphis, and another hardly one third so broad, reaching along the Red River across Louisiana to the borders of Arkansas and Texas. In this area there were, in 1890, 501,405 whites and 1,101,134 blacks,

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the black percentage here reaching the maximum—68.71 per cent. Here too the blacks increased the faster, their rate being 20.59 per cent against 14.58 per cent. In the third of the white regions, which I have called "The Western South," there are comprised four fifths of Arkansas, a seventh of Louisiana, and about six sevenths of Texas. The blacks form less than one sixth of the population, the numbers being 2,246,559 whites to 459,445 blacks. The rates of increase—46.83 per cent for the whites and 34.63 per cent for the blacks—show that the migratory movement of both to the westward still continued large down to 1890. If, following the usual historical classification, we regard Missouri as a southern State, it belongs to this division, and we then have for it a white population of 4,775,017 to 589,629 blacks, the blacks forming only 10.99 per cent of the total, which is less than would result under our hypothesis of an equal distribution of the negroes over the United States.

There remains the third black majority division, which I designate as the "Texas black belt." Its importance rather consists in its position, as separating the Western and Gulf Coast regions, than in its magnitude. It comprises fifteen counties, with a population of only 82,310 whites and 126,297 blacks, the percentage of blacks being 60.54.

These figures show conclusively that for much the greater portion of the South the race problem does not exist in the sense in which we have defined it. For the Upland and Western regions certainly, and almost equally for the Gulf Coast, there is no reason to fear negro domination. In the whole South the tendency is distinctly toward the more equal distribution of the blacks and the dissipation of black majorities. The Mississippi Bottom is the only important apparent exception, and it may be said of this in passing that in its present sanitary conditions it is the region least fitted for the abode of the white man; that while it has received a heavy immigration of blacks from the eastward it shows in its entirety a rate of increase for the negroes greatly less than either the Gulf Coast or Western region, and in one third of the counties comprising it a relative gain of the white population. It may be added that the same forces hereinafter shown to be at work in the other and greater black majority districts are undoubtedly operating in this also, and that their effects have been only temporarily counteracted by the immigration of blacks which is believed to have now ceased.

From the Upland and Western regions no white immigrant knowing simply the relative numbers of whites and blacks will be deterred by the fear of entering a country where negroes alone labor. The

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small farmer tilling his own land is in possession and control, and each region is, in the popular phraseology, "a white man's country." Of the Western it is not necessary to add more than that it has already for several years received a heavy white immigration from the Northwestern States. Of the Upland it serves my purpose to show that a minute examination of the statistical evidence is even more reassuring, and warrants the assertion that from a great portion of this region the negro has already begun to disappear. In three of its eleven component districts,—Kentucky, the western half of Virginia, and northeastern Mississippi,—there was an absolute loss of negro population in the decade 1880–90. This indicates a tendency not confined to those districts. As in Kentucky, while there was a net loss for the entire State of more than 3,000, we find a gain of 8,000 in Louisville and of upwards of 2,000 in three smaller cities on the Ohio, showing a loss of 13,000 in the remainder of the State, and indicating a much greater loss in the country precincts as distinguished from the cities: so in Tennessee, while there was a gain of over 13,000 blacks in that part of the State which enters into this region, we find the much larger gain of 24,000 in the three counties containing the principal cities, —Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville,—showing a net loss of more than 10,000 outside these cities. So in Maryland, while the gain in the entire State was 5,000, that in Baltimore was 13,000, showing a net loss outside the chief city of 8,000. In eighteen of the twenty-four counties of this State there was a loss of blacks. The blacks also suffered loss in thirty-nine of fifty-four counties of western Virginia, in twenty-four of fifty-four in West Virginia, in seventy-eight of one hundred and nineteen in Kentucky, in fifty of ninety-one in Tennessee, in twenty of fifty in western North Carolina, and in eighteen of forty-five in northern Georgia. In northern Alabama, where their rate of increase reaches the maximum for this region, no less than 27,089 out of the total gain of 47,987 are found in the county containing Birmingham. In the rich agricultural district known as the Tennessee Valley, the blacks increased less than 1 per cent, and they suffered loss in four of its seven counties. In the northern third of this State their rate fell below the average for the entire Upland region, being only 7 per cent, in contrast with a white rate above the average and as high as 25.31 per cent. The high rate for the northern half of the State is thus seen to be evidence merely of the attractive power of the Birmingham mineral district upon the negroes of the subjacent black belt.

These facts—and they are only a part of those conducing to the

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same result—establish a well-defined tendency of the blacks to drift away from the farms into the cities and mining districts. The low average rate of increase also indicates a migratory movement out of this region altogether. Whither has this movement led? Certainly not into the Lowland region to the south and east. On the contrary the facts support the inference that this region has itself received accessions to its black population from that,—as notably in the case of Alabama just referred to. Contrasting the two as entireties, the black rate of gain is slightly lower in the Lowland region, though this contains a much greater number of negroes and its milder climate might well be supposed more favorable to their rapid multiplication. The more detailed examination of the black belt also shows the same tendencies and suggests the same influences at work there as in the Upland region. Thus in Virginia, in all the thirty-six black majority counties taken together the black rate of increase was only 2.47 per cent, against a white rate of 10.07 per cent. While all eastern Virginia shows a gain of 12,246 in its black population, a larger gain—12,459,—is found in the five principal cities of this part of the State—Richmond and Norfolk showing 10,574. In only seven of thirty-five black counties did the whites fail to increase their proportion, and six counties were changed from black to white majorities. In North Carolina the continuity of the black majority counties, which in 1880 extended across the State from north to south, had been broken in 1890—seven counties having been changed from black to white. In seven of the fifteen remaining black counties the blacks suffered an absolute loss of numbers, and in only four did they maintain their proportion. While in all eastern North Carolina they gained in numbers only 7,701, nearly one half of this is found in the three chief towns—Wilmington, Newbern, and Charlotte. In South Carolina the whites increased their proportion in seventeen of the twenty-five black counties, and changed one county from black to white. In Georgia they increased their proportion in twenty-two of the sixty-two black counties, and of the total black gain of 74,017 the four principal cities—Augusta, Columbus, Macon, and Savannah—show 22,343. Of the ten black counties of Florida the whites increased the faster in eight, and their rate of gain in them all taken together was 30.60 per cent, against 12.03 per cent for the blacks. Of the total gain of 11,649 in the black population, more than half was in Jacksonville. In Alabama the low rate of increase of both races—2.05 per cent for the whites and 4.32 per cent for the blacks—is the most noteworthy feature, explained as

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already suggested by the immediate proximity of the Birmingham mineral district. Yet the black population of Montgomery increased more than 30 per cent. In five of the twenty black counties the blacks suffered loss; in six the whites increased their proportion; and in two black majorities were changed to white. In eastern Mississippi the whites increased their proportion in seven of the nine counties, and in all taken together their rate of gain was 14.44 per cent against the low black rate of 4.28. In two counties there was a loss of black population.

While these facts are in their nature the same as those shown in regard to the Upland region, the tendencies and migratory movement indicated have much greater significance and importance here than in the more northern territory. Nor is this merely because the black population of this region is so much the larger. It was expected that here, if anywhere, the negro would have strengthened his hold upon southern soil. Here, by reason of more fertile land and a climate suitable for their working upon it, the negroes were massed in the time of slavery. Down to the time of emancipation, holdings of land and holdings of slaves increased together in this territory. It was here the slavery system attained its highest possibilities as an instrument of production. Whatever its defects and essential weakness from the economic standpoint, up to the war it continued effective as a producer of wealth on these lands. In this Lowland region was centred the material wealth of the South as well as its controlling political forces. The lands were intelligently farmed, either, as was more common, under the personal supervision of the owners who resided upon them, or under the superintendence of overseers whose very calling put a premium upon the application of brain power to agriculture, and who as a class were farmers of superior skill and administrative capacity. As agriculture was the only important interest of an intelligent people, it was intelligently directed. Each plantation became a highly organized industrial unit, well-nigh self-sufficient. The labor of the slaves was in a considerable degree differentiated, and in a measure it became skilled. Each property had its own gin and cotton-press. The boy who showed aptitude was taught blacksmithing or carpentry. Leather was tanned and shoes made on many plantations. The women were not merely taught to sew, but to spin and to weave, and the clothing worn was very often literally "homespun."

In the mild climate of this region animal life can be sustained at less cost perhaps than in any other outside the tropics. Its

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natural advantages in the production of food-stuffs were used: corn and wheat, peas and potatoes, molasses, meat, milk, butter, poultry and eggs, fruits and vegetables were produced on the plantations in overflowing abundance. What has been since the war a "theory," was then a "condition"; cotton was, as it ought to be, largely a surplus crop, and this region in consequence realized the scriptural conception of a land flowing with milk and honey. It was a land of plenty and of solid material comfort for the blacks as well as for the whites. Even yet there can sometimes be heard from those, of the generation now fast disappearing, who had their youth "before the war," the expression of a lingering regret for those good old days of peace and plenty, in the form of a half-pity for us who have known only poverty and struggle without the solace of such happy memories. For it all ended with the war, and it has not come back, nor anything like it. There has been no "New South" in the black belt yet. The process of deterioration and decline which the ravages of war began, has indeed hardly yet been stayed. With emancipation the plantation organization of negro labor was at once dissolved. The negroes for the most part did not feel that they had their freedom until they used it to get away from their old homes. The skilled mechanics and the trained domestics among them were naturally among the first to seek the towns and cities and to move northward. The plantation owners undertook to work their big properties with wage-hands, and, tempted by the high price then prevailing, planted largely for cotton. The late slave could not at once become a good hireling. His mind was soon occupied with political cares. The glowing vision of "forty acres and a government mule" was industriously held up before him. "Free nigger labor" became among the whites the synonym of unfaithfulness and inefficiency. On the other hand to this day, to work for wages for a white man subjects a negro in the black belt to the badge of social inferiority among his fellows.

Again, of all occupations that freemen follow, agriculture least admits of being carried on upon the wholesale plan which had succeeded under slavery and was attempted by the planters under the different conditions of freedom. With cotton at prices that now seem fabulously high, the big plantations steadily brought their owners into debt. The "share-system,"—a species of agricultural partnership in which the landowner furnishes land, tools, and stock and the laborer feeds himself and takes half the crop—was next tried. But this had too much resemblance to the other, both in its nature and its re-

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sults, to suit either party long, and was soon generally succeeded by the practice—now almost universal—of renting from year to year. Under this system the negro has cultivated the land as an independent contractor, the master of his own time, and in greater or less degree, as he was removed from proximity to his landlord, according to his own methods. For the most part it has been in the greater degree and progressively greater as time has gone on. Country life, which had been so attractive to the owners of plantations, soon lost its charm in the new conditions. They left the country to educate their children in the towns. Their plantation homes fell into disrepair and in some instances were even given up to the use of the negro tenants. As the years went on without bringing the promise of change for the better in existing conditions, many of the landowners moved farther away from their properties. There was no opening at home for young men as they came forward: they emigrated in large numbers. The white population steadily decreased, and presently there came about something like the Irish condition of absentee landlordism, with a tenantry more thriftless and improvident,—almost realizing the illustration given in the political economy text-book of that tribe of South American Indians who, while being taught agriculture by the missionaries, killed their plough-oxen when they felt hunger after a day's work.

All the evils incident to the separation of the ownership and the cultivation of land have naturally followed in aggravated form. The negro tenant for the year cares only for the year's crop. If a plum-bush springs up, he will plough around it; if a terrace-bank breaks, the wash forms a gully; if a ditch fills, the field it drains is abandoned. With all, the same crop has been planted year after year on the same lands, unsustained by fertilizers, and unstirred except by the shallowest of ploughing. The discipline of slavery did not make the negro a farmer, but left him merely a muscle-worker. To farm is more than to plough and to hoe. The farmer must be industrious, but industry alone will not give him success. He must exercise sound judgment and wise forethought: he must have more than one string to his bow—he must diversify and rotate crops. The black belt negro meets none of these conditions, and he has fixed his dependence on cotton alone. It is indeed a commonplace in the South that the negro can only grow cotton—that he cannot grow corn. Corn will not bear neglect; to fail to plough at the proper time means the loss of the crop. Though cotton must be worked much more, it bears the delays incident to negro methods much better. With cotton

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tending downward in price concurrently with the increase of production by the white farmers of Texas, and of the Gulf Coast and Upland regions,—in both of which, lands deemed unfit for its growth before the war, have by the intelligent application of fertilizers been rendered highly productive,—it is easy to understand how, under these conditions, the rich black belt, which in the time of slavery was a garden of plenty, has become the poorest and most backward region in the country.

The tenant system of farming has proven more wasteful and destructive than slavery ever was anywhere. The productiveness of the lands has been lowered; buildings have undergone great deterioration; live stock has decreased in quantity and is of inferior quality; orchards and gardens have disappeared. Poverty and even destitution may be found where of old there was good living for all. The negroes have accumulated nothing; they are still living on the credit of the crop yet to be grown. In good times they have gotten but a subsistence: under the stress of hard times very many have been brought literally to the ragged edge of starvation. They are naturally dissatisfied and restless, ready and eager for a change. Their migration in large numbers is only a question of their ability to get away. They respond quickly therefore to the invitation of the labor agents.

The negro has failed as a farmer: in thirty years he has gained practically no hold upon the soil. He has not acquired ownership of the land to any appreciable extent, though very low prices have prevailed and even government land open to entry has been comparatively near at hand. But he is a good laborer under supervision. He is a success in the mines and has even won preference with many operators over trained foreign-born white miners. He has found acceptance in the iron furnaces and about the coke-ovens. He is in great demand in periods of railroad construction. On many southern railroads he serves not merely as section-hand but as fireman and brakeman. He is wanted in the growing cities in many other capacities than that of a domestic servant. It is not merely because of his love for the gaiety of crowds, —though this is an influence,—that he seeks what he calls public works and city life. It is also because he finds in these the best market for the muscle upon which he remains practically dependent in the industrial struggle for existence into which freedom has brought him. In these a constantly widening field now opens before him. The development of mining and manufactures and the extension of the railroads in the South have brought with them the rise of inland cities. Atlanta,

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Birmingham, and Chattanooga are but types of many that are following close upon them. The resultant increase of commerce has given new growth to the older cities along the coast. Urban population is now rapidly expanding all over the South. In 1880 the entire South had only ninety cities containing upwards of 4,000 inhabitants: in 1890 there were one hundred and sixty-three. In 1880 such cities had an aggregate population of 2,171,236, of which 546,233 were black. In 1890 their aggregate population was 3,458,274, of which 876,823 were negroes. In the ninety cities of 1880 the black rate of increase during the decade was 35.31 per cent. The census of 1890, varying in this respect from that of 1880, makes a population of 2,500 the criterion. On this basis the urban-dwelling negro population of the South in 1890 was 1,031,666.

This passing of the negro from the fields into the towns is obviously a fact of the greatest importance, not only in its bearing upon his status and distribution within the South itself, but also upon the question whether he is to remain in the South in relatively excessive numbers and as an element of its population not shared in an appreciable degree by the North. Once loosed from the stability of country life, taught to maintain himself in the city, and placed on the great highways of travel, the negro has taken the first and longest step out of the South altogether. The transition from Richmond to Philadelphia, from Atlanta to Cincinnati, from Birmingham to Pittsburgh, or from Nashville to Chicago is comparatively easy, and it may be made by easy stages.

I have already indicated the existence of a movement of the blacks away from both the Upland and Lowland regions. While this has undoubtedly tended in some measure southward into the Gulf Coast region and westward into the Mississippi Bottom, it has also and in perhaps greater volume flowed out of the southern States altogether into the cities and towns of the North. The single State of Pennsylvania increased its black population between 1880 and 1890 by 22,061, while the aggregate gain of the blacks in the whole tier of border States of the South,—Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, with Virginia added,—was only 19,451. New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois also showed large gains in negro population, though none so great absolutely as Pennsylvania, which in 1890 contained 107,595 negroes—a number more than one third as large as is contained in Arkansas, a typical southern State nearly one fifth larger in area. In all the northern States taken together and including the District of Columbia, which may be fairly classed with

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them, the aggregate increase of negroes was 116,033, or 21.42 per cent. It is significant that more than one fourth of this gain was in the region west of the Missouri River, and no less than 7,280 in the three States on the distant Pacific Coast. The number of blacks in the northern States in 1890 was 657,646, or 8.79 per cent of all in the United States. In 1860 the percentage of blacks north of Mason and Dixon's line was only 5.46. These figures suffice to show that the negro is capable of migration on a large scale, and that neither by choice nor necessity is he to remain fixed in the southern States. On the contrary we have every reason to believe that his movement northward will be henceforth progressively increased.

In the South itself it is a common observation that his average condition varies inversely with his ratio to the total population. In the white majority districts, where he approaches more nearly to the white man's standard of living, he is better off, both absolutely and relatively, than in the black. The stimulus of the white man's example, the lift up to the white man's industrial level, are necessarily greater everywhere in the North than in any part of the South. In the North the standard of living in the economic sense has been fixed by the white man alone: the rate of wages is higher, the demand for labor greater. The great cities of the country are in the North, and though seven tenths of all the negroes there in 1890 were in the cities, there is room for many more before they have received their proportionate share as compared with those of the South. While in the South they form 25.93 per cent of the urban population, in the North they are only 2.18 per cent.

There are potent inducements other than the industrial to such a northward movement of the blacks. The political and social status of the negro is higher in the North. This is not to say that race prejudice does not follow him in the North, for it unquestionably does. But the people of the North have not known him as a slave. His vote is often strong enough to decide between the closely balanced political parties. At the same time he is not strong enough to be regarded or to regard himself as a distinct element, social and political. No "Jim Crow" car is assigned to his separate use. In New York city he may now eat at the best restaurants. His children almost everywhere go to the same public schools with those of the white man, and may follow them to college if they choose. These and other like differences constitute an advantage of position for the negro in the North, which he is quick to grasp and slow to give up. In a somewhat ex-

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tended course of personal observation and inquiry on this subject, I have never known or heard of a single instance in which a negro who had once established himself in the North ever returned to the South to live.

Are there any in the North who deprecate and would resist this movement? Are there some in the South who would dissuade the negro from it? There ought not to be. It is best for the negro; best for the South; best for the whole country. It comes as the unaided result of the unrestricted operation of economic law upon a condition of affairs unprecedented in history, and justly regarded by all thoughtful minds as filled with menace of danger for the future as well as responsible for many past evils. It brings the promise, nay the assurance, of deliverance. It should rather be welcomed, and aided if it needed help. But it needs no other help than the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, assuring the undisturbed action of natural forces.

As the negro passes out of the South he opens the door long closed by his presence to white immigration. The small beginnings of this were felt even in portions of the black belt as early as 1890, and are reflected in the race statistics of east Mississippi, of tidewater Virginia, and of eastern North Carolina. As a result of even a moderate infusion of new white blood, these districts are all in better condition than at any time since the war. Within the last year the movement has assumed much greater proportions. Successive good crops in the South, in which because of its liberal and comparatively constant rainfall there has never been a complete failure, have been coincident with successive years of drought and crop failures more or less entire in the Far Northwest, which had come to be the new land of promise for the emigrant whether native- or foreign-born. Georgia and Alabama in 1894 sent solid train-loads of food-stuffs to the famine-sufferers of Kansas and Nebraska. Corn was also shipped commercially from Mississippi into Iowa and Illinois. The railroads have followed up this practical advertisement of southern resources by putting immigration agents to work in the northwestern States. As a result they have been during the last year almost daily bringing in parties of home-seekers over their lines. Georgia has been especially favored by these immigrants, and is now receiving a colony of several thousands from Indiana. Arkansas too is reported to have received from the States north and northwest of it within the last twelve months a hundred thousand new citizens. But the movement is not confined to any particular region. It may be, and it will be but natural, that at first comparatively few will enter the black belt. But the black belt is too rich to be passed over by an

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invading army of western farmers. Already in some portions of it the land is passing into new hands and is being enhanced in value. The continuance of the movement can only result in the early subdivision of the big plantations into small farms tilled by their white owners. This is the one sufficient cure for all its economic ills. It needs only this to make the region again the richest in all this rich country, and the home of a prosperous and progressive people. Its natural resources, its fertile level soil, its salubrious, genial climate, its wide variety of products, are unchanged or substantially unimpaired. And with this, the one great region that has lagged behind in the rehabilitation of the South, taking its proper place in the forefront of development—with the resultant breaking up of the political storm-centre which the black belt has ever been and still remains,—who can measure the possibilities of southern progress?

But the story of southern progress has been told in the pages of THE FORUM and is sufficiently familiar: I need not even recapitulate it to enforce the point I have to make in conclusion. The South is large: it yet remains thinly peopled and practically undeveloped. Great as has been the industrial advance made, considerable as appears the present immigration movement, they but faintly foreshadow the development now at hand. If so much has been done in the last thirty years under such disadvantages and practically unaided by immigration, what may we not expect when that rich tide which has created the Empire States of the Northwest is turned in even greater volume southward? Only the marvellous growth of the great West itself can guide the imagination in attempting the forecast, and even that must be surpassed. To the South unquestionably belongs the future. In such an expansion of its population and wealth as even a single generation has witnessed in the West, its race problem must vanish even though the emigration of the blacks should cease; sectional lines must be blotted out and South and North merged in the indivisible Union, which is identity of interest and conditions, as well as of blood, of language, and of history. The people of the South are ready for this the more perfect Union, the prophetic aspiration—never the attainment—of the fathers: Louisville, Chattanooga, and Atlanta have spoken our feeling. It but remains for the people of the North to come and share "all the wonder that shall be."

A. S. VAN DE GRAAFF.

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PESTALOZZI AND HERBART.

"Every philosopher of the present must go through Kant, and every pedagogue through Pestalozzi and Herbart."

THE twelfth of January, 1896, has vividly recalled to contemporary thought the memory of the great Swiss educator. One hundred and fifty years have passed since his birth at Zurich: years of earnest endeavor in the field of educational science. It was Pestalozzi who aroused this activity: his ideas came rapidly to the surface and were seized and developed by others; they penetrated the innermost consciousness of leaders of men and fructified the intellectual and moral life of the people. Not all, however, who labored for the education of the people were inspired by his spirit, nor did his influence affect all in an equal measure. In the higher institutions, particularly in the secondary schools, the effect of his work was but slightly felt. It is only in our time that the higher schools are coming in contact with him, though frequently only indirectly through the mediation of Herbart. Hence the latter in this respect fills an important mission which, though delayed, is not yet too late. Some educators will not admit a close relationship between Herbart and Pestalozzi. Only recently an attempt was made in Germany to have the teachers declare for either one or the other: this in spite of the protest of many who agree with Mager, a man thoroughly familiar with both Herbart and Pestalozzi, that "Pestalozzi, seized and developed by the philosophic thought of our times, must be studied in Herbart." The truth contained in Mager's declaration is to be shown in this article.

After completing his studies in the University of Jena (1794–97) Herbart became a tutor in a Swiss patrician family at Bern. In his reports to the father of his pupils we possess a splendid proof of his earnestness and zeal, and his high conception of his educational duties; they show his spirit and reveal how deeply he had already, as a young man, penetrated into the ethical as well as the psychological foundation-truths of education. It was only natural that this teacher should, in his youthful enthusiasm, wish to make the personal acquaintance of Pestalozzi. But his modesty for a long time prevented him from seeking an

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interview with the great educator. In January, 1798, he wrote to a friend: "It was by chance that I was brought face to face with the venerable Pestalozzi. I avoid molesting literary men whom I have not yet sufficiently learned to appreciate from their writings, and whom I cannot directly ask to instruct me." It appears from this quotation that in the beginning of 1798 Herbart knew Pestalozzi more from reputation than from his writings. But after the Pestalozzian school had been transferred to Burgdorf, in the Canton of Bern, he was among the first to visit it. This was in 1799. He was greatly impressed by what he saw and heard there, and became a warm friend of the distinguished headmaster of the institution. The effect of the latter's personality and ideas upon him was deep and lasting. He kept up a correspondence with Pestalozzi, of which, unfortunately, nothing has been preserved. After his return to Germany he was for several years continuously at work upon the investigation and elaboration of the educational plans of the great teacher. It was Herbart's impulse and work that brought the school system of Bremen under the influence of the spirit of Pestalozzi, and it was through him also that the great teacher's ideas received, in the course of time, the right interpretation.

Herbart has explained his conception of the Pestalozzian system of education in several lectures and writings. Among the latter are three which are particularly interesting: "On Pestalozzi's Latest Work, 'How Gertrude Teaches Her Children.' To Three Women" (1802); "Pestalozzi's Idea of an A B C of Intuition, Investigated and Scientifically Treated" (1802); and "On the Standpoint of Judging the Pestalozzian Method of Instruction" (1804). These works are eloquent testimonies of the depth and permanence of Pestalozzi's influence, and at the same time manifest Herbart's anxiety to show the true significance of Pestalozzi's educational ideas and to aid in their dissemination and practical adoption. Herbart consistently maintained this feeling of veneration, free from fanaticism, to the end of his days, long after the universal enthusiasm for Pestalozzi had died out and even disdain had in many quarters taken its place.

In order to show the educational progress which began with Pestalozzi and which was greatly augmented by Herbart, prominence must be given to the principles underlying the educational theories of both men. The first question to be answered is, naturally, What did they believe to be the aim of education? For upon the spirit and formulation of the aim depends the character of the whole system. Hence the teleological principles of these two thinkers must first be noticed.

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The great aim of all Pestalozzi's labors is *the promotion of the welfare of mankind.* He expects of political and sociological reforms an advancement of the interests of mankind in general, but to education he looks for the securing of the welfare of each individual. According to his view, the particular problem of education is to develop the purely human in man. He follows in this the dominant theories of the *Aufklärungszeit* ("Era of Illumination," as Carlyle calls it). Education is meant for man, and for man only: "to teach him to be man,—that means to educate him, and this is the greatest blessing man can grant to man." Thus a prominent representative of the German "Storm and Stress" period had written in 1770, and this expresses also Pestalozzi's conception of the general aim of education, which he calls "humanity." For years he lived among beggars in order to learn how "to make beggars live like men." But what is meant by humanity? It involves above all the concept of power; only through the unfolding of the original powers of the human soul can education hope to develop humanity in the pupil; and instruction, from this point of view, is to produce nothing else but "developed skill and accurate concepts." Nor are skill and knowledge to be ends in themselves, but they are to be cultivated for the sake of the development of power derived from their methodical acquisition. The powers themselves are designated as powers of cognition, of ability (skill), and of willing: intellectual power, art power, heart power. The chief characteristics of humanity, accordingly, are intellectual, technical (including physical), and moral-religious culture. These three powers, however, are not to remain isolated forces representing an aggregate of endeavors, but are to be combined in a higher unity whose character is to be determined chiefly by the religious and moral elements. Hence Pestalozzi's idea of "harmonious equilibrium of powers" must be understood to mean always that in the unfolding of the powers a leading rôle is accorded to heart culture. Insight, strength, and will for the good, united in equal measure and harmoniously represented and completed in action and conduct,—that is Pestalozzi's ideal of humanity. Thus it stands for moral-religious disposition and fitness united in the personality. Its foundation-principles are the two ideas of moral freedom and perfection of the powers.

This abstract ideal of humanity, according to Pestalozzi, must be present in the mind of the educator. But there are limitations which he must also recognize. Pestalozzi constantly emphasizes the demand that education deal with individuals; hence he wants the educator to

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consider the individual state of his pupil, *i. e.*, the life-conditions of that social circle in which the child belongs by reason of his birth. The problem as to how the child can be formed with reference to the nature of his highest destiny as well as to the changing contingencies of his position and circumstances, is solved by making the object a two-fold one: (1) to form the pupil to humanity; (2) to adapt him as early as possible to his individual situation and to cultivate within him an attachment to the reality of his life-conditions. The universally human cannot remove the existing differences, but it can break through and conquer them. The ideal is to be realized in the given frame. Hence Pestalozzi made it the object of education to form not merely men, but individual men fitting into the appointed matrices of actual life.

Pestalozzi has been frequently misunderstood on this particular point, and his name has often been used by those whose educational aim is an abstract concept of humanity. Hence I may be pardoned if I dwell upon this idea a little longer. Pestalozzi lays particular stress upon the thought that all humanity is, according to its nature, equal and has only one way to satisfy itself; he insists that the cultivation of this universally human is the most important side of education. But, on the other hand, he does not at all overlook the social environment in which the pupil grows up. All the elementary educational means must aim to effect a chaining of the pupil to the conditions of real life and to form him through them and for them. Pestalozzi makes a very careful distinction between the equality of the inner nature of the education of children of all classes of society, and the necessary inequality of its external appearance, depending upon special conditions in the outer educational means of the children of the poor, of the bourgeoisie, and of the wealthy. Thus Pestalozzi—as democrat—defends the equality of all citizens, because he finds it impossible to see in the nature of man a predestination for rulership or obedience. But he recognizes the social articulation of men, as it is founded upon circumstances which, according to his conviction, will exist for all time. The conditions of labor and acquisition always involve the coexistence, beside each other, of an agricultural class, an artisan class, and a class of the higher merchants and scientifically trained. But he fails to see in this the necessity for rank-classes of humanity, because the worth of man with him depends upon the grade of humanity, which is not bound to class and vocation. Those work-classes, however, are with him realities which cannot be demonstrated away by any doctrine. Within them are the roots of the power of the

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individual, and for this reason Pestalozzi calls the disregard of them a deviation from the laws of nature.

Herbart's teleological principles run along the same lines. To him also the destination of man is dependent upon higher, *i. e.*, ethical, laws, while the growth of human powers rests upon conformity to psychological laws. But while in Pestalozzi the concepts are somewhat vague and changeable, as it were, they are given by Herbart in a clear and precise form. Thus Pestalozzi has accepted as the key-note for the harmonious equilibrium of powers—the tone which determines the sound-color of the chord—the idea of moral freedom; but nowhere has he attempted to give a closer or more philosophical definition of morality. He usually explains it as "faith and love." All the human powers are to be united for their final destination in the freedom of the human will through faith and love. Herbart, on the other hand, was able to formulate the final aim of all education precisely and definitely, because his philosophical ethics offered him the complete equipment for a clear explanation of the concept of moral personality. According to him the aim of moral culture is to make the moral ideas, in all their precision and purity, the essential objects of the will, in order that the innermost real content of character,—the core of the personality,—may determine itself in accordance with them. These ideas, which are precisely developed and clearly explained by him, are: inner freedom, perfection, benevolence, right, and equity. Where these ideas as inner lawgivers command the will of man, there is character-strength of virtue and morality. Education sees before itself a clearly defined aim: to make the moral ideas ruling powers in the life of the pupil, powers that give him the right hold on life, completely penetrate his dispositions, and determine his doings. That is the ideal picture of the human personality which the pupil shall approach.

But this abstract ideal of humanity obtains a definite stamp in its application to different classes of races and vocations. Just as Pestalozzi with his "universal power of humanity" did not want to soar above mankind, but to enter into the world, so also the intention of Herbart is not to separate the pupil from his individual environment, but he desires, as does also Pestalozzi, that the pupil should grow into it; also, of course, learn to control and conquer it by virtue of his moral character—which can prove itself equally powerful in poverty and in wealth, in the lower strata of society and in the upper ones.

The concept of character-strength of morality expresses the conduct of a person who under the rulership of the moral ideas pilots his will

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safely, consistently, and vigorously through the experiences and struggles of life, without shifting the centre of gravity of the individual self. That is what Pestalozzi also wanted, for he said:

> "The pupil shall be so educated that the plain people may point to him and say: 'That is a man as he should be'; and looking back upon his life may say: 'This man showed in all on which he passed judgment, in all to which he advised, and in all he undertook, a healthy and experienced intellect, firmness, vigor, capability for every effort of a benevolent heart, and a readiness and perseverance in action that in every case secured him success in all he undertook."

Both Pestalozzi and Herbart are intimately united in the ideal direction they give to education. Both go back in this to a common source, Kant's theory of ethics. But while Pestalozzi disdained to derive the aim of education from a scientifically established theory, Herbart, standing upon the principles of Kant, has sketched out a system of philosophical ethics and from this deduced the aim of education in sharp outline and clear concepts.

A similar relation between the two pedagogues will be found when we examine the methodological principles which are to determine the ways and means to the attainment of the aim of education. Here, however, the reforming power of Herbart stands forth even more strongly. An agreement between them is found, firstly, in the presupposition that mental growth and development proceed in accordance with psychological laws. But in the conception and representation of these laws they differ. Pestalozzi undoubtedly stands upon the faculty-psychology of Wolff, which Herbart rejects. In spite of his explanation that in his empirical investigations he did not depart from any positive theoretical standpoint, it is evident that his psychological system points back to Wolff, in so far as he believes every kind of mental activity to be founded upon some particular, real power of the soul. Standing upon the basis of such a theory, the object in education, according to Pestalozzi, is the cultivation of independent, ever-separated capabilities and powers, each one of which unfolds itself in accordance with peculiar inner laws. Upon this road Herbart could not follow him.

Let us still farther examine Pestalozzi's views. According to the principal categories of the powers to be cultivated, he distinguishes an intellectual, a physical, and a moral-religious culture. The characteristics of these principal sides of education consist in the following:

I. *Intellectual Culture* is essentially a matter of instruction; the object of investigation is the mechanism which leads from obscure per-

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ceptions to clear concepts. The aim of instruction, accordingly, is thus stated by Pestalozzi: "distinct concepts and their ultimate means, definitions." To this he held fast, and opposed definitions defective in perceptions, as well as the wrong manner of communication in the schools. Of course he did not reflect (1) that his aim of instruction is too narrow, as it excludes concepts which are not capable of any definition, as, for instance, individual concepts, and (2) that this aim is much too high for elementary instruction. For these reasons the instruction in his own schools was a bitter disappointment. Though children are able to express their concepts in language, still the requirement that this be done in the logical form of definition leads necessarily to memory-verbalism, the very thing that Pestalozzi contends against. His aim of instruction, accordingly, cannot be accepted. It is different with his view of the beginning of knowledge, the point from which the ascending to concepts starts, a development which does not commence in school, but in the nursery, yes, in the cradle. Pestalozzi goes back in his investigations to the time when man does not yet distinguish particular things, when the world lies before his eyes like a flowing sea of chaotic perceptions. In the process of isolating a complex idea three points are considered: (1) how many and how many kinds of objects are before the eyes; (2) how they look, what are their form and outline; (3) how they are called in order to hold them fast by a sound. The resulting starting-points of knowledge are: number, form, and word. These are then extended by Pestalozzi to domains of knowledge in each of which the whole development is to proceed from obscure perceptions to distinct concepts. The three elementary means thus become three elementary branches of study: arithmetic, drawing-writing, and language.

The primary didactic principle which appeared to Pestalozzi established above everything else, is that of perception. He explains these perceptions to be experiences derived from contact with real things. The final maturing of every concept depends essentially upon the perfected power of its first germination. Everything imperfect in its germ is crippled in its growth. Pestalozzi wants to found intellectual culture upon real experience. No painted world is to be substituted for the real one. Only life forms the mind. Mental development —in the history of the race as well as in the imitating progress of the individual—consists in a procedure from obscure perceptions to distinct concepts. A conceptional view of the world is the final aim of this development, to which mankind has attained and to which the

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individual must be led. Thus there are two main divisions in the course of the child's mental development: (1) a period of perception; (2) a period of its logical elaboration. This procedure from obscure perceptions to distinct concepts is taken in a double sense by Pestalozzi: once as the course of human development in general, and at another time as the psychical mechanism which produces, at a certain height of development, conceptional formations. Thus the psychogenetic is distinctly separated from the psycho-logical in the sequence of development.

Closely interwoven with this development are two fundamental ideas of Pestalozzi, of which the first includes the principle of elementary procedure, *i. e.*, the pupil is to be placed upon the way which the inventor of a science himself took and was compelled to take. The historical series of these steps—the history of the science—determines the series of its elements, or the thread of elementary introduction into it. This concept of elementary procedure later on developed into that of contiguity,—which has done considerable harm. The second principle culminated in the law of physical nearness and remoteness, *i. e.*, the clearness of my knowledge depends upon the nearness and remoteness of the objects with which my senses come in contact. With this the conclusion is connected that knowledge of truth must in man proceed from knowledge of himself. The individual circle of experience is the nearest, and at the same time the intellectual, organ of the appropriation of the remote. Pestalozzi recognizes, beside the sensuous, an analogical perception which explains the quality also of things that have never been brought before the senses and whose similarity is abstracted from other objects that have been observed.

II. *Physical Culture.*—Mind-culture, according to Pestalozzi, consists in the inner elaboration of impressions originally obtained from without; art, however, which embraces physical culture, takes the opposite course by reaching out and actively entering into the outer world, following inner impulses and states. In the group of art branches are included domestic and civic activities and the technical branches of the common school, namely, drawing, modelling, singing, and gymnastics. Pestalozzi firmly believes that the training of physical capabilities must conform to definite laws. But, while he originally assumed that the mechanism of the technical capabilities should take the same course as that of knowledge, he gave up in later years the idea of equal procedure in these two lines of development. But he held that, though their laws of development differ, they are, from the

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cradle up, to vitalize each other and to be utilized in action. As Pestalozzi has given particular attention to language-study as aiding in the formation of concepts, he lays particular stress on drawing, among the technical branches, by emphatically protesting against that perversion of natural order which places reading and writing at the beginning of instruction. Exceedingly valuable also is the impulse which Pestalozzi has given in this field to the instruction of children in manual arts.

III. *Moral-religious Culture.*—Its foundation is the same as that of the two other divisions of education, namely, experience. Intellectual culture is based upon sense-perception and the ideas derived from it; physical culture, upon motor-sensation; the foundation of moral-religious culture is a state of consciousness differing from both of them. Pestalozzi calls this also perception—but inner perception which embraces all those feelings that are inseparable from the nature of the soul. Upon inner perception, or the moral feeling, he bases moral culture; and upon this, with the aid of phantasy, religious culture. Pestalozzi regards the relation between mother and child as the first circle of experience for this culture. In this intercourse the germs of love, of confidence, of gratitude, and of obedience develop even in the earliest years of childhood. The emotional excitations of conscience develop there also. Upon the analogy between the relation of the child to his mother and the relation of man to God is to be founded the idea of God. Then the child will begin and continue to do the right, as he has until now done it for the sake of his mother, for the sake of God. In the nursery of domestic education which places the child, also during his school period, under the full influence of a moral-religious family spirit, Pestalozzi sees the fundamental organization of moral education. Nothing is said of a formal instruction in religious and moral matters. The life in the family, the intercourse with the nearest relatives and friends, form the child's moral-religious circle of experience. Religion, history, and poetry, as branches of instruction, hold a very subordinate part in the system of Pestalozzi. For, according to his view, an instruction of this kind offers only words, and words have no effect upon the heart. The only effective educative means is life, life in the family. It never occurred to him to supplement the possible insufficiency of the child's home, with regard to inner experience, by instruction; his only aim is to enrich the domestic intercourse through suitable arrangements. Walks and excursions, play and domestic joys, are to widen the intercourse beyond the narrow sphere of instruction. For he will by no means leave the development

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of inner perception to accident. It is true he has laid down neither an A B C of action, nor an A B´C of the feelings or inner perceptions. But there is not a shadow of doubt that he believes in an elementarily progressive order of the same. In his work, "My Investigations on the Course of Nature in the Development of Mankind," Pestalozzi finds that the "course of nature" leads man from the animal state to the social and thence to the moral one. The first state is that of pure egoism; the second, that of legality; the highest, that of morality. For, like Kant, Pestalozzi sees morality solely in the good will of man. The pupil must be led through these three stages of animal, social, and moral existence and thus gradually rise to freedom.

The only educative momentum of instruction recognized by Pestalozzi is mental activity, which he awakens by observing, comparing, and abstracting. Thereby he does not discern any other motives of effort in a genuinely Kantian sense, such as love of duty and love of an object for its own sake, which must be secured through instruction. Hence the school with its meagre intercourse stands, in his plan, only in an indirect relation to moral culture. The highest guidance to which it can attain is pure striving for this culture. Only a highly developed school-life would be able to exercise a direct influence upon moral culture. This would lead also to a union with life, to the formation of maxims. Instruction would get no farther than doctrines and not to principles, to pious wishes and not to resolutions. Therefore he opposes instruction in morality and religion, and protests against a specialized catechism. This explains also the charge of irreligion which contemporaries have often raised against his method. But this charge was based upon the double mistake:—in that Pestalozzi's theory of an education through intercourse was overlooked, and in that his opposition to a premature religious instruction was put down as a sign of his alleged religious indifference, while he adhered only to his psychological conviction that "words are of no avail." Pestalozzi designates his theory of the formation of virtues as the keystone of his whole educational system. Here all threads unite. To the practical realization of moral-religious culture, physical and intellectual culture must lend their powers in order to call into being that inner unity which Pestalozzi calls "the universal power of humanity."

Thus Pestalozzi's educational plan is well thought out in bold outlines and forms a great unified whole. Although he has nowhere presented it in systematic form, there still remains, in the agreement of his manifold elaborations, the proof that this plan was active within him.

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The same may be said of Herbart,—with the one difference that he elevated pedagogics to the rank of a science by his systematically complete representation of his educational plan. As this is shown already in the derivation and establishment of the aim of education from a scientifically constructed theory of ethics, so also will it be recognized in the derivation of the necessary educative means from his psychology. With him, as with Pestalozzi, these means all unite in the formation of the moral character. Fully conscious of this fact he continues the labors of Pestalozzi in this direction. Thus he writes:—

"A perfect (taking all considerations into account) regularity of the succession, arrangement, and conjunction of that which is to be taught simultaneously and that which is to be taken up consecutively,—this was, from the beginning, the great ideal in which I recognized the most powerful means of insuring the right effect to all instruction. If Pestalozzi has not found that sequence, efforts must be made to find it or at least improve and develop his idea."

None was so fully equal to this task as Herbart, by reason of his profound psychologic insight and his scientific mastery of the historico-humanistic studies as well as of mathematics. Above all he established the possibility of mental cultivation in a convincing manner. According to Herbart, the soul is a simple essence, not subject to any change whatever in its quality. The concept of educability thus cannot be based on the "what,"—the original nature of the soul,—as this excludes mutation, but only upon the contents of the soul, upon the ideas and feelings, and the tendencies connected with them. Sensations and ideas are the simplest elements of psychical occurrences. Every single idea acts by reason of its oppositions to other ideas as a power. Hereby motion is aroused in the mass of ideas; there originate fusions, complications, serial associations, etc., whose production is subject to definite psychical laws. Mobility and legality form the basis of mental activity. With this is given to the educator the possibility of exercising an influence upon youthful development, in so far as he can fix ideas in the soul of the pupil and can connect with them tones of feelings and endeavors. It is possible to him to gain an influence upon all these expressions of our soul, but not upon the real bearer of the same, who, as soul-reality, is the unchangeable foundation. Here are the limits of education.

It is evident from these psychological presuppositions that in Herbart's plan of education the part assigned to instruction must be far more important than in that of Pestalozzi. Thus Herbart could say:—

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"Instruction aims primarily to form the circle of thoughts; education, to form the character. The latter is a nonentity without the former. Herein consists the sum total of my pedagogics. I confess to have no conception of an education without instruction, just as, conversely, I do not recognize any instruction that does not educate. One has education in one's power only on condition that one is able to bring into the youthful soul a circle of thought,—closely connected in all its parts,—which possesses the power to outweigh what is unfavorable in the environment, and to dissolve within and unite with itself what is favorable in the same."

Thus Herbart's aim of instruction is in closest relation with the educational aim,—is actually derived from it; instruction is so to form the circle of thought that the right volitions will spring from it. This is accomplished if instruction transposes the pupil into a state in which he is self-active, works and strives forward with delight and love, impelled from within so that he cannot do otherwise. A spur from without is not required; the impulse is within him. Herbart calls this state "interest." Production of interest—this medium between knowing and willing—is, accordingly, the aim of instruction. Thus in Herbart's plan the concept of interest forms the central point of educative instruction; it is the true life-principle of all general instruction; and Herbart has explained this in all its bearings, as well as the ways and means at the command of the educator to awaken interest in the pupil. From this concept result the following requirements for the choice of material: (1) A lasting interest produced in the developing human being by the pursuit of the evolution of civilization, represented and apprehended in the light of moral discernment. Hence chronological procedure from the older and simpler conditions of human life to the more complex conditions of modern times. Upon this line is found a part of the necessary sequence which Pestalozzi sought. (2) Classical representations which the pupil can grasp are to be placed at the beginning of instruction. Only these are able to invite the pupil to a retrospect; only these give to the interest lasting nourishment and a healthy direction. (3) Large, whole, coherent masses of material are alone able to excite the interest in sufficient depth and hence to have a character-forming effect. (4) From the concept of interest flow, furthermore, valuable directions for the coordination of the branches of instruction and for a fruitful treatment of the subject-matters in relation to the pupil.

With the latter point Herbart takes up the Pestalozzian course of procedure, "from the percept to the concept," resolves it into its various stages and shows the psychological reasons of each of them. In this

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the development of the suggestions derived from Pestalozzi is especially recognizable. Thus no one will be able to dispute the fact that Herbart has greatly furthered the labors of Pestalozzi and that he is, in a philosophical sense, the true successor of the latter,—whose true adherents, indeed, are not those who disseminated his errors of practical execution, but those who grasped his ideas in all their fulness and depth and knew how to give them a right and appropriate expression. Certainly a great deal of what was given in the plan of Pestalozzi is not to be found in that of Herbart; but the essence is there and in a clear and comprehensible form—the derivation of the aim of instruction from the educational aim and the derivation of the ways and means of teaching from the aim of instruction. On the other hand, great gaps in the Pestalozzian plan are filled out,—thus, above all, the significance of the history of civilization for the education of the growing generation. Pestalozzi's attention was too much directed to the narrow circle of his environment, upon that which the world of the senses presents to man; thus the historical aspect of evolution, with its rich culture-material, remained shut off from his view. The opinion that Herbart's theory of education has no connection with the great pedagogical movements of the ending eighteenth and beginning nineteenth centuries, is wholly unfounded and shows superficiality of judgment. On the contrary, what is good and justifiable in those movements flows into his pedagogics to be united into one inherently complete whole. This could also be proved in details, in the logical connection and in the construction of the rules of educational measures, as, for instance, in the treatment of the special ways of instruction. Pestalozzi wanted to bring about, by means of instruction, a conceptional view of the world; Herbart, an æsthetical view. Not formal development of power, but formation of character through introduction into the possessions of civilization,—that is the watchword of Herbartian didactics.

Finally, if we turn our eyes to the life and character of these two heroes, at the first glance a greater contrast is hardly conceivable. The life of Pestalozzi is full of outer and inner worriments and trials. He has hardly caught a firm foothold in any position before he is driven onward; his way through life is only too closely paved with unsuccessful experiments and hopes; at times near to despair, he always rises again, till at last he finds an abiding-place in Yverdon. Contrast with this the life of Herbart. In its antique repose and classic equipoise it appears wholly satiated by the beautiful and the good. Exceedingly simple, without exciting crises and heavy buffet-

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ings of fortune, in seclusion and stillness, never disturbed by cares for the outer conditions of life,—a life, in short, admirably suited for philosophic reflection. There are no dramatic complications, no rapid changes of events, as in the development of Pestalozzi. This contrast in life is reflected also in external appearance: Herbart, in the equanimity of his nature, inwardly and outwardly an imposing man, measured in his carriage, clear and definite in his manner of expression; Pestalozzi, on the other hand, vivacious, struggling with the lack of ability to express himself clearly, easily given to most varying impressions, therefore often completely erring in his judgment of persons and conditions. But both are full of kindness and the love of mankind; both are embodiments of the ethics which they represented, and thus, in spite of all external differences, inwardly one.

But, with regard to the success of their teachings, Herbart had to experience the tragic of life far more deeply than Pestalozzi. He did not live to see the fruit of his labors. Constantly growing more lonesome with advancing age, he had fought an unpromising battle against the fashionable philosophy of his days; but his contemporaries ignored his pedagogics. Only after his death did his ideas begin to exert a decisive influence, to impregnate the mental life of his people. Some of his adherents taught in the great universities; others were active as school councillors, principals of teachers' training-schools, rectors of gymnasia, etc.; a vast literature is connected with his name; a large society and many branch societies are spread over Germany and other countries; and a large number of periodicals serve to disseminate his ideas. But all this has come about after his death; thus the truth of the poet is illustrated:—

> "For what to man life only gives in part
> Posterity shall give in its entirety."

This is entirely different from Pestalozzi's fate. His popular romance, "Lienhard and Gertrude," soon carried his name into huts and palaces. It found an enthusiastic admirer in Queen Louise of Prussia, and an eloquent herald in the distinguished philosopher Fichte. The whole pedagogical world turned out to see his school at Yverdon. The school system of the German states was arranged in accordance with his principles; thus, especially, the system of people's schools in Prussia; and a cloud of pedagogic writers set to work in his spirit. These writers were, indeed, only too active, so that, particularly in special methodics, an empty formalism has drawn its web around the healthy thought, and a renewed effort has become

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necessary to remove the rubbish and reveal the original and lasting ideas of Pestalozzi:—the high conception of the entire culture of the people; the search for connection among the measures of education; the revelation to the school, in its branches of instruction, of the final and true elements and their corresponding mental activities, in order to shape teaching through the combination and ramification of these elements and make learning a sequence of psychical activities which must follow one another from an inner necessity.

Into this depth of conception Herbart could follow him; and, after Herbart, other men who were influenced by him, as Mager, Dörpfeld, and others. They all agree with Pestalozzi as regards the far-reaching general problem of education,—in the emphatic demand that the impressions of instruction must be together in the pupil's one circle of thought, and fuse in one total effect which is not merely intellectual, but ethical. It is just at this sore point of modern culture,—which a great deal of pedagogic talk and writing never touches,—that Pestalozzi and Herbart apply their instruments; their disciples, however, are active to sharpen them and make them increasingly useful in the service of a healthy culture of the people. Thus has been fulfilled the hope which comforted Pestalozzi at the close of his life, when he looked back upon his manifold incomplete and misdirected undertakings; the hope, namely, that the foundations of his system would, after his death, be investigated with ever-growing thoroughness and recognized in their truth and purity, and that the end of the nineteenth century would see the uninterrupted continuation of his exertions in the hands of men who owe the inspiration and aim of their endeavors to his appearance in the educational field. Always—this is our hope—there will be men who, stimulated by the memorial celebration of 1896, will take up his ideas and make them fruitful for the people; who, in a respectful spirit, will give prominence to the thought that the educational work of our day had its deepest foundation in the two men who, in the present century, are the great authorities in the development of the science of education,—Pestalozzi and Herbart.

In the Thuringian poet-city, Weimar, we see the two poet-heroes, Schiller and Goethe, united in statue. In the nicest manner the artist does justice to the individuality of each and, at the same time, to the idea of the inner kinship of both; in a similar manner there stands before our mental eyes the statue of Pestalozzi and Herbart united in one representation of their true nature.

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MODERN ARCHÆOLOGY: RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE.

THE historical importance and the artistic interest which attach to the origin of our civilization, namely, the social and political development of ancient Greek life, are so great and so absorbing that the literary records of that epoch, though unrivalled in perfection and beauty, are meagre in comparison with the subject itself. Hence the acquisition of any tangible and visible relic of classic times is a gain of the highest value to science. The study of such remnants of antiquity as were already available was sufficient to urge scholars to search for more. The charm and the fascination of Greek works of art which escaped the devastations of war, religious fanaticism, or the inroads of barbarism, captivated even the ignorant and the uncultured; and it is to this irresistible pleading of the mute but all-powerful creations of Greek genius that we owe the preservation of those masterpieces which survived through the Dark Ages and were bequeathed by the awakened consciousness of the Renaissance to our later times. But even then they were prized more as objects of beauty, beyond the rivalry of contemporary artists, and as best fitted for the decoration of palaces and pleasure resorts. Their scientific and educational value was understood by few, and that imperfectly. As for archæology, it was perhaps owing to its first faltering steps, to its unscientific ways and often absurd conclusions, that it was exposed for a long time to the reproach of idle curiosity and pedantic trifling.

Bernard de Montfaucon's "L'Antiquité Expliquée et Représentée en Figures" (1719–24), the labor of a true Benedictine, was an initial effort at a systematic review of antiquity. But Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who became a Catholic abbé, as it has been humorously said, that he might explore Rome the more freely, and would have turned Mussulman had he been allowed to excavate Olympia, was the founder of the science of archæology. His "History of the Art of the Ancients" (1764) is a work which fixes a date in the annals of literature; and his "Monumenti Antichi Inediti," published a year before his assassination (1768), gave promise of even greater

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things. Two generations later another German *savant*, Otfried Müller, was the first to coordinate and tabulate in his "Manual of the Archæology of Art" (1830) the results achieved by the new science up to that time. No doubt much was still unknown and seemed inexplicable. But the sonorous phrases of the past century now gave place to proven facts; abstract theories vanished before absolute demonstration. Archæology was no longer to be derided as a puerile pastime with potsherds, nor as a vain search after the dead bones of an irreclaimable corpse. It was manifest that it laid open before us the every-day life, elucidated the actions, and initiated us into the vivifying inspirations of that epoch of humanity which approached nearest to the ideal perfection. The necessity of research on the spot was as firmly established in its essential relation to archæology as is anatomy in its essential relation to medicine; the pickaxe and the shovel of the digger became as effective instruments in the advancement of the science as the pen and the paper of the scholar.

This new departure, however, demanded not only scholarship and many-sided erudition, but great enterprise and abundance of material means. And to these varied requirements must be attributed the fact that the earlier explorations are due, not to Germans, who possessed in a high degree the former qualification, but to Frenchmen and more especially to Englishmen, who possessed the latter advantages. It must also be borne in mind that the land which offered the widest and most promising field for this work was, during the earlier part of the century, exclusively under Turkish rule,—inaccessible, insecure, bristling with as many obstacles and dangers as it offered temptations to the archæologist. It was only later that many of these disadvantages disappeared, when facilities of communication, the development of engineering appliances, and the superabundance of wealth gave a great impetus to archæological enterprise.

But that which most stimulates the ardor of the excavator, laboring as he generally must amid difficulties and discomforts of all kinds, is the romantic interest of his pursuit,—a feeling so fresh and exhilarating as to throw into the shade the proverbial excitement of the gold-digger. No find of gold can outweigh the rapture of the explorer who brings old worlds into a new life. The sensation must be experienced to be understood: it is the fascination of a passionate love. Only a resurrection of the dead could surpass its transports. The soil which has been for ages the faithful custodian of an inheritance laid by in trust for the pious and worthy worker, yields to his persistent efforts

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the treasures it has sheltered; it gradually reveals the secrets it has guarded so long; it is made to speak in a way more persuasive than the most eloquent historian; and, from its inner darkness, it sheds more light upon the past than the sun itself can give. A successful excavator creates new chapters of history. He lends substance to what were deemed but myths, and brings into being personalities not even dreamed of before. He fills up the gaps in whole epochs in art, and elucidates, beyond contention, the meaning of authors which the combined erudition of the learned was not able satisfactorily to explain. The determination of ancient sites fixes events in history. Buildings, statues, and other works of art make clear the evolution of civilization.

But especially inscriptions—those undying and unerring witnesses of truth—speak with a clear and resonant voice, supplying an abundant stream of invaluable information to every branch of history,—in art, in religion, in philology,—and supplementing the unrecorded wealth of an immortal language. Inscriptions are often the surest guides to the reconstruction of dilapidated monuments; the sequence of the writing reveals the dimensions, the form, and the age of the object on which it runs. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this one harvest from recent excavations. Within the last few years the earth at the foot of the Acropolis yielded the very stone from which Thucydides copied the words of a treaty he quotes; the inscriptions found at Olympia come, after two thousand years, to bear witness to the fidelity with which Pausanias described what he had seen; and the innumerable records unearthed at Epidauros and Delos bring us into as intimate intercourse with the every-day life of twenty-three centuries ago, as the papers treasured in English country-houses familiarize us with Queen Elizabeth's court or the doings of Cromwell's Roundheads.

The enumeration of these marvellous finds, however, should not mislead the reader into the supposition that, but for the hardships of the task, excavating is a simple matter, open to the first comer. Any one may dig for gold in a virgin field; but the exploration of a site, hallowed by the memories of a great past, is a labor to be entered upon only after much study and preparation, with feelings of reverence and with a sense of its responsibility. Nothing is more fatal to its success than the charlatanism of ignorance and the unscrupulousness of superficiality. Not only must the explorer be forearmed with every scrap of information bearing, even remotely, upon the history and topography of the locality, but he must be endowed with that great virtue in

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science,—the habit of scepticism which leads to deeper inquiry. He must furthermore be trained to observe carefully what may at first sight appear immaterial,—as the layers of the soil, the disposition of a ruin, the directions in which fragments are strewn. He must even know how to handle the pickaxe, that he may direct his workmen and imbue them with reverence and care for every bit of stone or pottery unearthed. Much engineering skill and architectural knowledge are also called into play. Indeed the pursuit of excavating may be said to constitute now a special vocation, a distinct branch of scientific research.

The sites in which excavating is carried on may be divided into three categories: (*a*) particular buildings, wholly or partly exposed to view, details or fragments of which are sought in the immediate neighborhood; (*b*) sites whose localities are positively known, but are buried under successive accumulations of earth and rubbish; (*c*) sites of uncertain location, of which no visible trace exists above ground, but which it is sought to fix and bring to light. In each case the indications to be found in ancient authors, the evidence offered by the surrounding country, and the disposition of the ground itself must serve as initial guides. These indications, of course, often play an important part in such researches; one excavator may vainly labor within a stone's throw of the spot he is groping after, while another may immediately alight on a thread which may lead him to unsuspected treasures. The general course pursued, however, in the latter two of the above classes of sites, is to sink trial shafts in quest of some vestige —a building, a fragment, a tomb—which is then followed up just as a miner traces a vein of precious mineral.

The presence of later constructions often serves to indicate an ancient site. In Greece, almost invariably, ancient shrines are marked by Byzantine churches; and very remarkable, as an evidence of the unbroken continuity of the national tradition, is the unerring fidelity with which the characteristics of pagan deities have been transferred to corresponding Christian saints. The transition from paganism to Christianity was not a sharp severance between Hellenism and Byzantism. The Parthenon (the temple of the Maiden) was transformed into a church of the Holy Virgin. The Theseum was consecrated to the memory of St. George—the warrior saint who slew the dragon. Sanctuaries of Zeus are invariably marked by Christian shrines devoted to the Saviour; and temples of Poseidon were given over to St. Nicholas, the patron of mariners. At Eleusis, on the ruins of the temple of Cora—the virgin daughter of Demeter,—a Byzantine church

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was found standing, dedicated to the Virgin; and so throughout all Greece and in many parts of Asia Minor.

Often a mere accident has led to the most startling discoveries. The ploughshare of a peasant striking against the apex of the loftiest mountain of the Ceramicus brought to light that unequalled highway of tombs at Athens; and the tilling of the fields around Tanagra was the beginning of the discovery of those marvellously beautiful terra-cotta statuettes, which revealed to us a hitherto unknown branch of ancient art,—and that in a part of Greece the least likely to be credited with artistic aptitude or inclination. On the other hand, a similar accident, giving the opportunity into evil hands, has caused irreparable loss to science by the ruthless destruction of objects whose real value was not understood by those into whose possession they came. Even worse is the trade in illicit excavating, its object being the export and sale of antiquities in contravention of the law. Such excavations are carried on by ignorant treasure-seekers in a way all the more destructive, as it is hurried and surreptitious. Unfortunately they are encouraged, not only by dealers, but by private collectors and even by museums.

No part of the ancient world offers so rich a field for archæological research as the lands inhabited by the Greek race. Wherever Greek life extended in ancient times, there it has left the most instructive and beautiful traces of its activity. The antiquities of the other races may be quaint, curious, or even conducive to a certain kind of knowledge; but the remains of Greek genius alone serve now—as they did when still fresh from the masters' hands—as models of the highest ideals of art, as the richest sources of inspiration, enlightenment, and culture for the entire human race. It may be said without exaggeration that, especially within the limits of Greece proper, every acre of ground can be stirred into life by the tangible evidence of its former splendor and glory. Every rock speaks of some deed of valor; every hill records some sacred legend; the rippling brooks reecho the love-stories of the gods; and the whole earth of Greece enshrines the remains of heroes. No wonder that this diminutive country—the whole of which, as Macaulay said, one might cover with a pocket-handkerchief—should have attached to itself a larger share of antiquarian research than the rest of the world taken together. Let us then rapidly review what has been accomplished in the way of Greek archæological exploration since the beginning of this century, so that we may enter the more intelligently upon an examination of the infinitely more important work achieved during the last few years.

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The monumental work of J. Stuart and N. Revett on "The Antiquities of Athens" (1762–1816) was continued through the Society of Dilettanti, first by the expedition of Chandler to Greece (1765), and then by a series of superb publications recording successive researches in Greek lands up to the present day; the most memorable of which is perhaps Penrose's epoch-making discovery of the true principles of the architecture of the Parthenon. Two other Englishmen, W. M. Leake in his "Topography of Athens" (1821) and Ed. Dodwell in his "Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece" (1819) and "Views and Descriptions of Cyclopean and Pelasgic Remains" (1834), as well as Gell in several works of a like nature (1810–1819), contributed valuable information to the antiquities of the country. Contemporaneously with the first of these English explorations, the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, French ambassador to the Porte, undertook his memorable journey through Greece and Asia Minor, recording his researches in the sumptuous "Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce" (1782–1809). Like his immediate predecessors and contemporaries he carried away a considerable number of valuable antiquities, and through the agency of the French consul at Athens secured in 1787 a few fragments of the sculptures of the Parthenon, now in the Louvre.

The rivalry then existing between England and France and the interest in Greek antiquity aroused in England by the Society of Dilettanti, led Lord Elgin, the British ambassador at Constantinople, to procure a firman (1801) authorizing him to remove "a few blocks of stone with inscriptions and figures." On the strength of this limited authority he proceeded to employ several hundred laborers, under an Italian painter absolutely ignorant of archæology or architecture, in removing from the Parthenon, with irremediable damage to the structure itself, almost all the sculptures of the pediments, the metopes, and the frieze, together with one of the caryatides and a large number of inscriptions and other pieces from the Acropolis. This act was severely stigmatized by Lord Byron and has continued to the present day a theme of controversy. On a report by Canova and Visconti as to the merits of what have come to be known as the "Elgin marbles," they were purchased in 1810 by the British Government.

Similar was the fate of the less celebrated Phigaleian marbles. The temple of Apollo at Bassæ, in the Peloponnesus, was first discovered in 1765, and Chandler visited the site a year later. In 1811, however, two Englishmen, C. R. Cockerell and J. Foster, assisted by the Austrian consul at Athens, and Baron O. M. von Stackelberg, a

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German (author of pictorial works on Greece), removed the twenty-three tablets, constituting the frieze of the temple, to Corfu, and sold them by auction to the British Government for $75,000. In the same year the English and German travelers secured from the island of Ægina the sculptures of the temple of Athena and sold them for the sum of nearly $20,000 to Ludwig, then Crown Prince of Bavaria. They are now the pride of the Glyptothek at Munich. Lord John Spencer Stanhope had already visited the plain of Olympia and published widely the result of his researches, when, after the battle of Navarino, Charles X of France despatched to the Peloponnesus (1829) a body of troops in aid of the Greeks. This expedition was accompanied by a scientific mission, whose published "Proceedings" (1833–40) form one of the most sumptuous and valuable works on Greece. The archæological section of the mission carried on excavations on the site of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The exploration of the site continued for about six weeks and remained then incomplete, but a considerable number of sculptures were removed to the Louvre in Paris.

The liberation of Greece, with political emancipation, brought riddance from these cruel spoliations to which she was continually exposed, and which tore from her ruthlessly her loveliest inheritance. It reflects the highest credit upon the government of the kingdom, that, distracted and devastated as was the country after emerging from a savage war of eight years' duration, one of its earliest cares was the enactment of a law for the preservation of antiquities. Though inadequate to present requirements, that measure has done much to preserve and safeguard what still remained to Greece of her glorious heritage. The consciousness of the duty devolving upon the nation by the very sacredness of that heritage found expression in the establishment, as early as 1837, of the Greek Archæological Society. The "Journal" and the "Transactions" of the Society, extending over sixty years, offer an unparalleled record of most varied and fruitful labors in the richest field of archæological research in the world.

The political settlement of the country and the readiness of the Greeks themselves to explore its ancient remains attracted the attention of European scholars to the advantage of seeking in Greece those opportunities which they had in view in frequenting Rome. With a better knowledge of the conditions of archæological study, it had become evident that no effective pursuit of science was possible without some familiarity with the material side of ancient life and with the physical aspect of the localities. The necessity was felt of establishing

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permanent centres in the country itself, to which students might be sent, and from which explorations might be organized. And, as the interest offered by ancient Greece to men of culture remained pre-eminent, Rome had to give place to Athens the moment that necessity was admitted. Athens then became the sanctum of archæology.

The French Government was the first to establish, in 1846, a School of Archæology at Athens. It claims now among its *alumni* some of the most eminent French *savants*, and the record of French archæological work in Greece includes the memorable excavations at the foot of the Propylæa by Beulé in 1853. The lead which German scholarship always maintained in regard to Greek archæology,—evidenced by the Athenian excavations, as early as 1834–36, of Ludwig Ross, and by the more recent "Prussian Expedition" in 1862,—rendered the establishment of a German School at Athens dependent only upon political opportunities. These proved favorable on the rise of the empire, and the Archæological Institute, founded in 1874, achieved at once great reputation by the excavations at Olympia. It flourishes now under Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, its distinguished chief. The American School came third in 1882 and the British fourth in 1886; the latter being fortunate enough to have Mr. Penrose as its first director. Of the excellent work done by both I shall make mention hereafter.

The concentrated efforts of these powerful and thoroughly organized bodies, all full of enthusiasm and eager to win distinction, brought about a healthy competition, resulting in brilliant achievements. It is not within the scope of this article to refer to the numerous and important excavations carried on beyond the limits of the kingdom of Greece. Much space would be needed to give even a brief account of the work of Sir Charles Newton at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ; of Fellows at Xanthus; of Wood at Ephesus; of Lebas and Waddington in Asia Minor; of the German expedition to Pergamos; of the excavations of General di Cesnola in Cyprus; or of Schliemann's on the site of Troy. But in seeking to obtain a connected view of the explorations in Greece proper within the last few years—the most eventful epoch in archæological research—we first meet the last named renowned excavator—a German by birth, an American citizen by adoption, a denizen of Athens by preference, and the father of a Greek family. His romantic career is too well-known to need comment here. Suffice it to say that the whole-hearted devotion, the undaunted perseverance and energy with which he entered upon a pursuit quite new to him, coupled with the surprising luck which at-

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tended his every step, achieved triumphs which have secured to his name a foremost place in the annals of archæology. He was certainly the greatest excavator that ever lived.

Unfortunately his proneness to adhere to *a priori* theories, unsupported by adequate authority and untenable by the results of his own researches, often led him into absurd conclusions; and this kind of *amour propre* was such as to induce him to discontinue an excavation rather than to permit it to bring forth evidence exceeding what he deemed necessary for the maintenance of a ready-made theory. He misconceived the bearing even of the greatest of his undertakings—the excavations at Hissarlik—because he persuaded himself that he had discovered the treasure of Priam. The munificence of the German Emperor, however, enabled Prof. Dörpfeld to resume and continue these excavations during the last three years, with the result that the actual Troy of Homer has at last been unearthed. Its walls stand on a higher and more modern level; they are more extensive and of a much finer workmanship than those of the smaller and poorer town found by Schliemann, which is now proved to have been a considerably older foundation, perhaps 2000 B.C. The walls discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld are well preserved and answer, in all essentials, as does also the pottery found there, to the remains of Mycenæ and Tiryns—strongholds which Homer describes as inferior to the sacred city of Ilion. This similarity has a material bearing upon the investigations which we will now enter upon.

This short reference to Schliemann's work beyond Greece was necessary, as we have now to consider, in the first place, his exploration of sites in Greece proper. In the recent great development of archæological researches in Greece, Schliemann's excavations do not come first in point of time; but they reveal an entire era of Greek civilization hitherto unknown, and they demonstrate, in the clearest manner possible, its earliest growth. Therefore, they are essential to a reliable appreciation of the value of excavations relating to later periods. His enthusiastic admiration of Homer, which had urged him to excavate Troy, would not allow him to rest, as he himself declared, until he had traced the heroes he worshipped to their own Hellenic homes. He sought the footprints of Odysseus in Ithaca (1878) and essayed some search at Orchomenos (1881) and later at Pylos and in Laconia. But the spot in Greece which most attracted him was the city of Agamemnon—Mycenæ of mythic renown—the colossal, grim, and rugged remnants of whose battlements had looked down for ages,

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sphinx-like, upon the wayfarer from the plain of Argos to Corinth. Standing on the remote and inaccessible plateau of a rocky eminence, the huge Cyclopean walls of this desolate citadel, which rise in parts to a height of more than thirty feet, have suffered less than many a later building on the lowlands. Two rampant lions of strange Asiatic aspect, sculptured over the great northwestern gateway which leads into the triangular enclosure, lend additional mystery to a spot inseparably associated with the most tragic stories in early Greek tradition. This was the scene of the terrible feud between Atreus and Thyestes; it was within these walls that Agamemnon, on his return from Troy, was murdered by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Ægisthus; and here Orestes later took vengeance upon his own mother. The poets who made these traditions the theme of some of the greatest of Greek tragedies must have visited the scene of the legends,—so faithful are some of their descriptions of the fortress and its neighborhood. The "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, the "Electra" of Sophocles, the "Orestes" of Euripides, added to the dread which popular fancy gave to the ruins of Mycenæ, left desolate after its destruction by the Argives, 463 B.C.; and travelers are taken over the scene of those successive tragedies, as we know from the testimony of Pausanias, who relates that he also was shown by the *cicerone* of his own time the five graves of Agamemnon and his companions, as well as the place, outside the consecrated ground, where Clytemnestra and Ægisthus were laid to rest.

A statement so circumstantial was enough to fill Schliemann with the determination to substantiate it. It is true that the words of Pausanias were generally understood to point, for the site of the tombs, to the lower town, remains of which are visible below the citadel, and which, encircled also by a Cyclopean wall, contains the famous "Treasury of Atreus." This is a circular and vaulted chamber lined, until a comparatively recent time, with plates of bronze, such as Homer describes in the case of similar buildings. The richness of this decoration, which was ruthlessly torn down and looted by the Turkish governor of the Morea, gave rise to the popular legend that this and six other adjoining structures were royal treasuries. It has now been positively established, however, that they were used as tombs.

But Dr. Schliemann was determined to disinter Agamemnon; and, after some preliminary trials during February, 1874, he proceeded in August, 1876, to clear the space next to the upper wall and to the right of the entrance through the Lion Gate. Having soon come upon some pieces of archaic pottery, traces of Cyclopean structures, and sepulchral

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slabs bearing rude sculptures, he felt encouraged to persevere on this spot. There, shortly afterward, he discovered a circular construction, eighty-two feet in diameter, marked by upright stones which supported horizontal slabs. They evidently formed a semicircle of benches, and these Schliemann identified as the circular agora referred to by Euripides; and as Homer speaks of the elders sitting on stones which formed a sacred enclosure, and Pausanias alludes to an ancient custom of burying kings and chiefs in such places, Dr. Schliemann felt convinced that the desired tombs would soon be found. Luck, indeed, favored him again. Toward the end of October, after coming across an opening, cut into the rock, twenty-one feet by ten feet, which was in fact an empty tomb, he discovered, fifteen feet below the level of the same rock, five tombs within the space of the agora and a sixth just outside it, containing, on a layer of pebbles, the remains of seventeen persons in all, of whom three were women and three were children. One body, which must have undergone some sort of embalming, was found almost perfect. The theory which Dr. Schliemann evolved from the position in which the bodies were found, in order to make it tally with his assertion that the bodies were those of Agamemnon and the other victims of the tragedy, need not here be insisted upon. He was very determined to make the discovery fit in with the passage in Pausanias, which is at best of doubtful interpretation, and, having announced in a famous telegram to the King of Greece that he had unearthed his illustrious predecessor, he suddenly put a stop to the excavations. No more tombs were required. Unfortunately for this romantic theory, the Greek Archæological Society shortly after continued and completed those excavations, bringing to light many more tombs.

Be that as it may, Schliemann's discovery was in itself so marvellous, so important in its bearing on archæology, that it needed no legendary attributes to enhance its merit. The vast number of valuable objects that Schliemann triumphantly brought to Athens—jewelry, armor, apparel, vases, and the like,—and which, according to very ancient custom, had been buried with the illustrious dead and were at the time of this discovery unique of their kind, announced the existence of a civilization and an art hitherto unknown. The wealth and splendor of these tombs spoke both of the high rank of those whom they enshrined and of the advanced state of culture in which they must have lived. The "Mycenæan treasure," as it may now be seen exhibited in the Central Museum at Athens, shows those heroic skeletons arrayed in diadems of gold, gold belts, and baldrics, with leaflets of

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gold spread over their robes, their richly inlaid armor lying beside them. In one case a pure gold mask, reproducing the features of the dead, was laid over the face; and the stone mould on which similar masks were pressed out was found during later excavations on the same spot. The women lay decked in jewelry of the finest workmanship, with diadems, necklaces, finger- and ear-rings, bracelets and brooches; and in each tomb, gold and silver vessels, which had held provisions for the next world, were placed within reach of the dead. The actual money value of the gold found reached $20,000, a sum which must have been equal to untold wealth at that very remote time; while the artistic and scientific worth of the find is simply incalculable.

To what date, then, could those marvellous objects be referred? Prior to their discovery Greek history was not traceable farther back than the beginning of the seventh century B.C. We have now tangible evidence of an advanced state of civilization at least five centuries earlier, and of the existence of a powerful kingdom in the Peloponnesus long before the Doric invasion. Not only this, but the opinion long entertained is now confirmed that "the Homeric poems represent not the beginning but the decay of an old civilization, not the first springing into life of a youthful culture, but the experience, and even the sadness, of men who were heirs to bye-gone greatness and felt degenerate in comparison with their ancestors."

At first, the complete absence of any similarity to the art of later classic times induced many to ascribe the Mycenæan finds not to that pre-Homeric period, but to very recent decadent and barbarous times. Their heavy design and intricate ornamentation, their *naïve* conception and clumsy execution, reminded the casual observer of Byzantine or Celtic workmanship. Others associated them with the Gauls, who overran Greece during the third century of our era, or with the Middle Ages—much in the way that the heraldic appearance of the lions over the great gateway of Mycenæ misled the French officers of the expedition to the Morea into the supposition that they were remnants of the French occupation of the Morea during the thirteenth century. The fact, however, has now been established that the Mycenæan art is the immediate outcome of the Phenician intercourse with Greece. And in this instance again we recognize the fidelity with which Greek legends reflect historic facts, when they refer to Perseus as having built the walls of Mycenæ with the help of the Cyclopes from Lycia, and trace the descent of the Pelopidæ from Tantalos, King of Phrygia.

These conclusions have now been firmly established, thanks to the

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exhaustive excavations continued at Mycenæ by the Greek Archæological Society. Within the citadel the foundations of a palace have been unearthed, of the same period as the tombs and answering to the Homeric description of a kingly abode; also the ruins of a later Doric temple. In the lower town nearly a hundred tombs, similar to those in the agora and almost as rich in objects—in gold, silver, bronze, and ivory—have been found. But the most conclusive confirmation has been obtained in excavations carried on within the last few years in the Greek islands, by way of which Phenician trade extended to Greece—in Rhodes (necropolis of Ialysus), in Cyprus (necropolis of Arsinöe), in Crete (necropolis of Cnossus), in Santorin (amid remains earlier than the volcanic eruption which transformed the aspect of the island), and in Amorgos. Also on the Greek mainland, in Thessaly, in Laconia, in Bœotia, in Attica, and in the Acropolis itself; and finally in Prof. Dörpfeld's excavations at Hissarlik, to which reference has already been made. The remains of the Homeric Troy are deemed the oldest of what is now known as the "Mycenæan civilization"; those of Santorin are ascribed to the sixteenth century; those of Ialysus to the fourteenth; and those of Mycenæ itself to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Contemporaneous with these latter are the majestic walls which crown Tiryns, a rock rising from thirty to sixty feet out of the southern extremity of the plain of Argos and overlooking the Ægean Sea. Its flat and sloping surface, nine hundred and eighty feet long and three hundred and thirty feet broad, forms an upper and lower citadel surrounded by fortifications of which Pausanias speaks as no less wonderful than the pyramids of Egypt and which won for Tiryns the Homeric epithet of "wall-girt," or rather "rich, powerful in walls." They are the most magnificent example of Cyclopean architecture extant, and are built up of enormous, rough-hewn blocks of limestone, measuring from five to ten feet in length and three in breadth and thickness, the smaller weighing from three to four tons, while an immense slab, forming the floor of a chamber, weighs some twenty tons. The walls, which in parts rise to a height of sixty-five feet, are more or less uniformly twenty-six feet thick, except in the upper citadel, where they attain to fifty and even fifty-seven feet thickness and contain a vast number of niches, passages, and chambers. Staircases sunk in these walls connect upper and lower galleries, and towers of enormous strength rise at the angles of the enclosure, which is entered by a gate similar to the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ. The details of this unique

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specimen of military architecture have been brought to light by the excavations of which we shall now speak, but the position and grandeur of its remains had not failed to attract the attention of early travelers.

Tiryns was fabled as the birthplace of Hercules. In common with its suzerain at Mycenæ, it was deprived of its ancient power by the Doric invasion, and, after it finally succumbed to the jealousy of Argos, remained desolate. The evidence of the blocks strewn about shows that the place is practically in the state in which it was left immediately after its destruction 463 B.C. The huge mass of ruins which encumbered the upper citadel had not been disturbed by any systematic search; the *débris* of a church and other Byzantine structures did not invite much notice. It was left for Dr. Schliemann to repeat here, in a much more complete and perfect manner, the triumphs which his enthusiasm seemed always to insure. While exploring Mycenæ, he had sunk here also some shafts; but he undertook the excavation of the citadel of Tiryns resolutely in 1884–1885, and he took the precaution this time to associate with him in his labors a distinguished architect and archæologist, Dr. Dörpfeld, the present director of the German School at Athens, who conducted the work on strictly scientific lines. It was not long before Schliemann was enabled to announce, in a sensational telegram, the discovery of a vast palace with innumerable columns, wall-paintings and vase-paintings of plants and animals—"a discovery which has no parallel." Partly on account of the previous hasty conclusions of the discoverer, and partly owing to the prominence of Byzantine remains and the insufficiency of the then extant data regarding the newly discovered epoch of civilization, Schliemann's assertions were doubted and even ridiculed. The discovery was set down as nothing more wonderful than those of late Byzantine structure. A hot controversy ensued and Dr. Schliemann, accompanied by Prof. Dörpfeld, met the critics face to face at a memorable meeting held in London under the auspices of the Hellenic Society. The proof they were enabled to lay before the learned audience was so incontrovertible as to establish beyond doubt the discovery of another and more important link in the continuity of Greek culture and to confirm the historic value of the Homeric poems.

The palace Schliemann had announced was no deception. It was a complete and perfect example of such an edifice as Homer describes as the residence of great kings—Priam, Menelaus, Alcinous,—with its *megaron* (men's apartments), *gynæcon* (women's apartments), *aulæ*

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(courts), bath-room, vestibules, porticos, etc.; and its dimensions and character fixed its age with unerring precision, proving it to have been even grander and older than anything mentioned by Homer. Its decorative remains were no less remarkable. Some rooms were paved in concrete, ornamented with red and blue designs; portions of the alabaster frieze of the *megaron* were inlaid with a blue glass-paste forming ornaments such as those of Mycenæ and Orchomenos; and fragments of plaster were found with vividly colored spirals, meanders, and rosettes. These attempts at fresco-painting are, no doubt, rude and only five colors appear in them; but they are marked by extraordinary vigor of execution and freshness of treatment, especially the remarkable fragment representing a man in a kneeling posture on the back of a furious bull and holding on by the horns. The pottery unearthed at Tiryns is also similar to that of Mycenæ, and the same Phenician influence, both in ornament and architecture, is manifest. The system of fortifications is the same as that met with at Hadrumetum, Utica, Thapsus, Carthage, and other Phenician centres. And the blue glass-paste referred to above is none other than the *kyanos* of which Homer speaks as used in decorating the frieze of the palace of Alcinous. It is known to have been of Phenician manufacture.

Of the origin and date of this civilization there is, therefore, no longer any doubt. The excavations of the citadel and of the palace of Tiryns have furnished us with the evidence of its last efforts and of the beginning of its decadence. With the downfall of the power of Mycenæ and Tiryns a retrograde epoch set in under the rude and hardy Dorian conquerors from the north, until a revival supervened, the character and exact bearing of which were, until lately, shrouded in deep mystery. The exuberance of beauty, the almost superhuman grandeur, of the classic art of Greece seemed a marvel comparable only to the mythical birth of Athena, armed and fully developed; but the pickaxe of the excavator has now solved the riddle, and the marvellous discoveries of the last few years have supplied the missing link in this romantic search after the unknown. The results obtained will form the subject of a second and concluding article.

J. GENNADIUS.

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IS THE POWER OF CHRISTIANITY WANING?—NO.

MR. CHARLES A. DANA recently said that "religion is the strongest, the most enduring, the most vivacious of all the powers in our world," and that there is "far more religious activity" in our times than in any previous age since Christianity was established. Mr. Dana speaks, of course, as a trained observer of the world's doings,—independent, impartial, and candid,—and not as an advocate of any particular form of Christianity. This deliberate statement, therefore, carries much weight. Certainly, in an impartial study of the events of the world, religion appears to have an important, if not the predominating, influence in the shaping of them; and, among the leading faiths of mankind, Christianity is unquestionably foremost. It has lost none of the missionary spirit which made it so aggressive in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era. The zeal of the myriads of modern Christian apostles has carried it, in the nineteenth century, into well-nigh every inhabitable corner of the globe: its doctrines are heard in every language, nation after nation opening its doors to its missionaries. Mission stations and missionaries have accompanied—in some cases, preceded—the explorer and trader to regions almost entirely unknown a quarter of a century ago. Savages of the South Seas have been Christianized, and cannibal tribes of but yesterday are Christian preachers and teachers of to-day. It is also true that the governing forces of the world are the Christian Powers, which practically divide the earth between them, either in the form of colonies, "spheres of influence," or suzerainties.

The dominance of Christianity is, moreover, much more than a political or missionary dominance. Notwithstanding the unfavorable presentation of certain forms of Christianity in Christian countries like England and the United States, which are interpreted by its foes, and a few of its pessimistic friends, as indicating a waning of its power, religious activity is in no wise diminished. More churches are being built, more ministers trained, more congregations gathered, more members added, more money raised for current needs and for a multiplicity of Christian benevolences than ever before. But whether

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the doctrines of Christianity are held as sincerely, as firmly, as widely as they used to be; whether faith in the Bible as the word of God, divinely given, divinely sufficient, and divinely authoritative is still undiminished; whether belief in the supernatural elements of Christianity is wholly genuine; whether what is called the spiritual life of the Church is as vigorous as it was half a century ago—these are questions that can be authoritatively answered only after a most diligent observation and investigation of well-ascertained facts. Some of these facts are furnished by statistics which are indubitable evidence of the state of religious activity, whether they are conclusive as to the reason or motive for such activity or not.

The last Government census included, as is generally known, a comprehensive and thorough inquiry as to the number of religious organizations or churches, their seating capacity, value of church buildings, and the number of ministers and communicants or members enrolled in religious work. It was discovered that, excluding the religion or religions of the pagan Indians, the number of denominations was one hundred and forty-three, of which all but six were Christian. Since then one denomination, which was somehow overlooked by the government authorities, has been brought to light, and two more have come into existence by the process of division. One small communistic society of only 21 members has, however, dissolved, so that the net increase is really only one, the total now standing at one hundred and forty-five. Of these denominations, the majority are small and insignificant, multiplying the divisions far more than the results. The great mass of Christians in the United States are found in twenty-seven bodies. This list includes all having 100,000 or more members. It will be seen from this that Christianity presents a more divided front in appearance than in reality.

If, in the five years since the census was taken, there has been a net increase of one denomination, showing that divisional influence has not entirely exhausted itself, it is a fact, nevertheless, that the movement toward consolidation has made not a little progress. The line of demarcation between Christian churches in the South is each year becoming less widely divergent; the northern and southern Baptists are approaching each other closely, and negotiations which promise to be successful are in progress for union between several other denominations. The disaffection and sectional differences which arose out of slavery and were so potent a cause of division before the close of the civil war are diminishing in force every year and will soon dis-

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appear. Doctrinal barriers have been so weakened and overcome that in many cases their force is historical rather than actual. Differences of polity are still effective causes of continued separation; while language and racial peculiarities are responsible for many schisms. The fact that various branches of the same denominational group are drawn together at intervals in family council,—as in the Pan-Presbyterian Council, and the Ecumenical Methodist Conference,—is one of significance. When the twelve branches of Presbyterianism meet with the three branches of the Reformed faith, they find many points on which they are at one; when the seventeen branches of Methodism are gathered by representatives into one great meeting, they emphasize the questions on which they agree. The twelve bodies of Mennonites are earnestly trying to find a basis on which they can reduce their divisions by half or more; and the divisions of Lutheran bodies, many differing only on minor points, are planning for a more or less general system of coöperation in mission work, and for closer relations looking to ultimate union. This is an age of consolidation and centralization, and this tendency is manifest among religious denominations, whose work involves enormous expenditures of money, and teaches the necessity of economy. Experiments in rivalry show that it is extremely wasteful, and there is less and less of it.

According to the census of 1890, there were, in all, 20,618,307 communicants or members in the United States, and, from the statistics for 1895, that aggregate has, in five years, been increased to 24,646,584, a gain of 4,028,277. In the same period there has been a gain of 23,075 churches and 21,646 ministers. These gains are not wholly net gains, because the Waldenstromians, included in the returns of 1895, were not included in the census. Nothing was reported in the ministerial column for the Salvation Army in 1890. With these omissions taken into account, the net gains for the five years would be 17,609 ministers, 22,935 churches, and 4,008,277 communicants. The table on the next page will be most convenient for those who want to study the figures.

The increase for the five years, as can be seen, is a large one. It must be remembered that it is a net increase. Death is constantly at work among ministers and members, and the losses by discipline, withdrawal, and other causes are considerable. According to the returns given by the Methodist Episcopal Church there is 1 death annually in every 80 members of that large body. In the Congregational denomination there is 1 in every 74, and in the United Presbyterian

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1 in every 70. On the average it is probably 1 in 75, at least, for all denominations, so that in an aggregate of 22,500,000, say, there would

	Ministers		Churches		Communicants	
	1890	1895	1890	1895	1890	1895
Adventists, all branches	1,364	1,362	1,757	1,993	60,491	73,312
Baptists, all branches[1]	25,646	33,291	43,029	46,871	3,717,969	4,068,539
Brethren, River, all branches.	155	155	111	111	3,427	3,427
Brethren, Plymouth, all branches	.....	.....	314	314	6,661	6,661
Catholics, all branches	9,196	10,382	10,276	14,931	6,257,871	8,014,911
Christians, all branches	1,435	1,485	1,424	1,480	103,722	110,250
Communistic Societies, all branches	.....	.....	32	31	4,049	3,950
Congregationalists	5,058	5,400	4,868	5,500	512,771	600,000
Disciples of Christ	3,773	5,260	7,246	9,471	641,051	923,663
Dunkards	2,088	2,115	989	1,016	73,795	81,394
Evangelical bodies (two)	1,235	1,234	2,310	2,817	133,313	145,904
Friends, all branches	1,277	1,314	1,056	1,087	107,208	114,711
German Ev. Synod	680	838	870	1,075	187,432	185,203
Jews, all branches	200	290	533	548	130,496	139,500
Latter Day Saints, all branches	2,043	2,075	856	1,011	166,125	234,000
Lutherans, all branches	4,591	5,685	8,595	9,493	1,231,072	1,390,775
Mennonites, all branches	905	950	550	600	41,541	47,669
Methodists, all branches	30,000	34,141	46,138	52,550	4,589,284	5,452,654
Presbyterians, all branches	10,448	11,097	13,476	14,530	1,278,332	1,458,999
Protestant Episcopal, all branches	4,224	4,580	5,102	5,979	540,509	626,290
Reformed, all branches	1,506	1,662	2,181	2,355	309,458	343,981
Salvation Army	.....	2,037	329	682	8,742	33,500
Unitarians	515	519	421	455	67,749	68,500
United Brethren, all branches	2,798	2,746	4,526	5,026	225,281	262,950
Universalists	708	800	956	802	49,194	47,986
Various bodies[2]	1,191	1,264	2,001	2,293	170,764	207,855
	111,036	130,682	159,946	183,021	20,618,307	24,646,584

be an annual loss by death alone of 300,000. There is not sufficient data on which to calculate the losses by discipline. In some churches they are very small; in others an item of no little importance. The net loss from this source to the Regular Baptist bodies, having an aggregate of about 3,800,000 members, is in the neighborhood of 40,000 a year. In the Congregational body it is about 10,000. Now before any net increase can appear the losses by death and other causes must be made good. The denominations must, therefore, in

[1] Returns of the Regular Baptists are estimated for 1895, on the basis of the gains in 1894.

[2] Including Moravians, Swedenborgians, Chinese temples, Spiritualists, Theosophists, Christadelphians, and others.

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order to prevent an actual decrease, add 300,000 new members annually to make good the mortality loss. The number of new members actually received by all religious bodies since 1890 is, therefore, an aggregate of, possibly, 5,900,000, indicating an annual addition of 1,180,000. The same series of facts applies to the increase of ministers. Hence it is apparent that the religious activity of the denominations must be very vigorously maintained to produce such striking results.

Comparing the ratio of increase of communicants with that of the population of the country, we find that the advantage is with the churches. The percentage of increase in population for the decade ending in 1890 was 24.86. Supposing it to be half of this for the past five years, we have a population of 70,400,000, which is manifestly an exaggeration. It is hardly possible that, with the decreased immigration of the first three or four years of the present decade, the percentage of increase of the previous decade has been maintained; but, conceding that it has, and that the rate is 12.43, we find this is far below that of the churches. Their growth since 1890 has been at the rate of between 19 and 20 per cent. This corresponds to the rate of increase which the leading denominations reported for the decade ending in 1890. The rate for that period was 42 per cent, against the 24.86 per cent representing the net increase of the population. It is clear from this that the churches are gaining on the population rapidly and steadily.

It is a well-known fact that women outnumber men in the membership of the churches. At least this is true of all denominations excepting the Society of Friends. Among the Friends the sexes are pretty evenly balanced. Few of the denominations give statistics of membership by sex, but, according to the returns of those which do, the proportion is about two female members to every male member. If this proportion holds good in Roman Catholic, as well as in most Protestant, churches, more than sixteen and a half millions of the total membership of the churches are women. From this it follows that the mass of the unchurched are men. Women constitute a very large and active force in most of the churches, outnumbering the men in attendance at public worship and particularly at the prayer-meeting; faithful in various kinds of church work, creating enthusiasm and raising money for missions, and conducting the business of their own societies with such zeal and success that some of the men have become ashamed of the less satisfactory record which the sterner sex is making, and have expressed their feeling in a paraphrase of a well-known hymn:—

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"Shall women bear the cross alone
And all the men go free?"

The New Woman, of whom so much is said, will appear in the church, as well as in other fields of usefulness, more prominently in the future. In several denominations, notably the Congregational, the Unitarian, the Universalist, the Free Baptist, the United Brethren, the Christian Connection, she receives ordination to the ministry and serves as preacher and pastor. In the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church she is eligible to any office or position in the church, and may aspire even to the Episcopate, and among the Friends there are no discriminations against her sex. A discussion has been going on in the Methodist Episcopal Church for several years concerning her admission to the general conference of that body as lay delegate. A majority are willing to admit her; but a three fourths vote of the ministers is necessary to make the constitutional change involved, and there is some doubt whether women will be allowed to sit in the general conference which meets this month. There is no doubt whatever that the change will be made sooner or later. Admission to ministerial orders is not likely, however, to be conceded to the weaker sex in this large and conservative church for many years. In foreign missions women are taking a much larger part than formerly.

It will be noticed that among the denominational families, or groups, (by which is meant those branches of the same name which are given in the table under one title, for example,—the Adventists, who constitute six divisions; the Baptists, thirteen; the Catholics, seven,) the Catholic leads in point of numbers. The growth of that denomination has been enormous. This has been due chiefly to immigration which has been largest from countries where Catholics are numerous or predominant. The eight millions ascribed to that group are all Roman Catholic except a few thousand Greek, Armenian, Old and Reformed Catholics. The last-named are really Protestant. The increase of Catholic communicants in five years has been about 1,757,000, which is twice as large as that reported for any other group, although less in percentage than that of the Disciples of Christ. It should be stated that statistics of Catholic communicants are not usually reported. The official denominational returns are for population, that is, for all baptized persons, or communicants *and* adherents. These returns are not made by actual count, as in the case of most other denominations, but as estimates, based upon the number of baptisms and deaths. As the vital statistics are by no means perfect, the estimates

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for some of the dioceses are simply more or less shrewd guesses. It is reckoned that 85 per cent of the Catholic population are communicants, the remaining 15 per cent being held to represent children not yet admitted to their first communion, and those debarred from communion. The census returns for Catholic communicants were obtained by a different method, and are believed to be substantially correct. The increase in the number of priests since 1890 has been quite moderate—1,186—or a little more than 12 per cent, the increase in communicants being 28 per cent. The increase in churches and mission stations was 4,655, or more than 45 per cent. No other church has so small a proportion of priests and churches to its number of communicants. The Methodist group, with 5,452,654 communicants, or little more than two thirds as many as the Catholic group, has nearly three times as many churches, and more than three times as many ministers. The difference is in large part due to the fact that many more services are held in Catholic than in Protestant churches.

The Methodist group stands at the head of the Protestant division in number of ministers, churches, and communicants. Next to it is the Baptist, which has fewer communicants by some fourteen hundred thousand, but nearly as many ministers. The net increase of Methodist communicants since 1890 is 863,370, or somewhat under 19 per cent. The Baptist increase figures only 9 per cent, which is much below the actual rate. This is explained by the imperfect denominational reports. The census agent found hundreds of associations of which the regular denominational statistician gave no returns. Complete returns for 1895 would show a much larger percentage of gain.

Perhaps the gains can be studied with greater advantage if put in tabular form in the order of numerical importance:—

1. Catholic	1,757,040	5. Presbyterian	180,667
2. Methodist	863,370	6. Lutheran	159,703
3. Baptist	350,570	7. Congregational	87,229
4. Disciples of Christ	282,612	8. Protestant Episcopal	85,781

These six denominational groups and two single denominations absorb, it will be noticed, all the gains for the five years, except about 248,305, which is distributed among the other smaller groups, including Mennonites, Friends, Reformed (Dutch and German), Mormons, Jews, etc. The foregoing table, therefore, affords a pretty accurate indication as to the churches which are having the most vigorous growth. All of these, except the Catholic, belong to the division known in Protestantism as Evangelical. The Catholic and Evangelical divisions of Christianity

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are clearly the dominant Christian forces of the United States, and they are outrunning the nation itself in rate of increase.

The following table is interesting, showing how the denominations stand singly in numerical order :—

1. Roman Catholic	7,999,172	8. Presbyterian, North	902,757
2. Methodist Episcopal	2,629,985	9. Protestant Episcopal	616,843
3. Regular Baptist, South	1,448,570	10. Congregational	600,000
4. Methodist Episcopal, South	1,379,928	11. African Methodist Episcopal	594,476
5. Regular Baptist, Colored	1,343,530	12. Lutheran Synodical Conference	479,221
6. Regular Baptist, North	985,752		
7. Disciples of Christ	923,663		

This dozen is the same dozen that constituted the leading denominations in 1890, but they do not occupy quite the same positions. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has advanced from fifth to fourth place, the Southern Baptists from fourth to third, and the Disciples of Christ from eighth to seventh. The Colored Baptists drop back two places and the northern Presbyterians one place.

The most remarkable instance of growth in the five years is that of the Disciples of Christ. This denomination, which is particularly strong in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Texas, was so little known to the rest of the country when Mr. Garfield became President that it was for years thereafter spoken of as the denomination to which President Garfield belonged. It is in spirit, doctrine, and practice not unlike the regular Baptists, from which denomination the Campbells and many others withdrew when the Disciples of Christ came into existence in the early part of the present century. It was organized as a movement "to restore the lost unity of believers and so of the Church of Christ by a return in doctrine, ordinance, and life to the religion definitely outlined" in the New Testament. It has no human creed, taking the Bible as its rule of faith and practice. Like the Baptists, the Disciples hold to immersion as the proper mode of baptism, and to the baptism of believers only. Unlike the Baptists, they baptize for the remission of sins, and celebrate the Lord's Supper every Sunday. It is not easy to arrive definitely at the secret of its growth, although the fact of the growth is clear enough. In 1880 it reported 350,000 members; in fifteen years, therefore, it has considerably more than doubled itself. The increase is at the rate of nearly 164 per cent. Their own idea of the secret of their success is because their plea is for Christian unity, their basis a Scriptural, union basis, their zeal in evangelization, and their plain, direct preaching.

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The church affects human life and human affairs in many ways. It is not simply a religious, moral, and educational force, or a well-organized and effective system for the reformation of the vicious and refractory elements of society, or a ready instrument for the solution of certain sociological problems; but it has important business and financial aspects. The net increase of 23,000 church societies means a corresponding increase in church edifices. Before church buildings are erected lots must be purchased and paid for. Only the best lots on the streets will do for church sites. The church must therefore pay a good price and hence becomes an important factor in the real estate market. The building itself requires many different materials, thus giving occasion for the working of mines and stone-quarries; for the preparation of various kinds of wood, both foreign and domestic; for the manufacture of tapestry, carpets, furniture, furnaces, etc.; for the employment of architects, masons, carpenters, painters, artists, organ-builders, and others. They need in current operation a great variety of supplies besides fuel and light. They furnish employment and income to sexton, organist, and singers as well as to pastor. Both as a purchaser of materials and supplies, and as an employer, the church has important relations to business. It is manifest, therefore, that the financial affairs of the church must be on a large scale, when all its interests are considered. Its expenditures foot up to an aggregate which is truly enormous. It takes $10,355,000 annually to pay the bills of the Protestant Episcopal Church; $23,863,000 to pay those of the Methodist Episcopal Church; nearly $14,000,000 for the expenses and contributions of the Presbyterian Church (northern); $11,673,000 for those of the Regular Baptists, and $10,355,000 for those of the Congregational denomination, making an aggregate of $88,000,000 every year contributed by 10,768,000 members,—an average of $8.16 per member. The grand total for all denominations could hardly be less than $150,000,000, and it might be many millions larger. Most of this is made up of voluntary contributions. No tax is imposed, unless the amount of rental received for pews is so considered; nor is any very large part of the total amount received as income from vested funds. There are few endowments, although bequests are many and considerable. The value of church buildings, lots, and furniture, in 1890, was about $680,000,000. It is quite probable that it is now fully $800,000,000.

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